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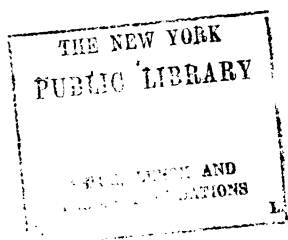
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JOURNAL

OF A

Residence in Chili.

BY A YOUNG AMERICAN,

Mr Coffin

DETAINED IN THAT COUNTRY, DURING THE RE-
VOLUTIONARY SCENES OF 1817—18—19.

BOSTON :

WELLS AND LILLY—COURT-STREET.

1823.

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THE publishers of this little volume think it due to the writer to mention, that it was not designed by him for the Press.

As he is too distant to be consulted, his friends for whose gratification only it was penned, have taken on themselves the responsibility of presenting it to the public.

The strong political interest attached to the period of time this Journal includes, the variety of subjects and observations involved, and the increasing connexion between the country described and our own, may, it is hoped, render it acceptable to readers of various tastes.

Univ. Place Book Shop 14 July 1942

To all, it is respectfully presented as the work of a young American—Should it meet with a favourable reception from his countrymen, he may perhaps be induced to take up his pen with higher views, and improve a still protracted residence in South America by communicating information, interesting to the United States from their Southern brethren in Independence.

Journal

OF A

RESIDENCE IN CHILI.

THE better to understand that part of my minutes which relates to the *public* affairs of Chili, it will be well to take a brief view of the political occurrences a few years preceding my arrival there.

The commotions that agitated Spain, in consequence of the encroachments of the French, and the captivity of Ferdinand VII. and his father, were immediately communicated, in a greater or less degree, to all the Spanish possessions in South America. The first revolution in the kingdom of *Chili*, was speedily and easily accomplished,—almost without opposition or bloodshed.

On the 15th of April, 1810, a general

meeting of the principal citizens of Santiago was held in the great square, for the purpose of deliberating upon the state of public affairs. It was here decided, with great unanimity, that the people of Chili should assume to themselves the government of the kingdom, until affairs should be settled in Spain. The *Presidente* (Carrasco) and some other civil officers of the king, attempted to oppose these proceedings, but were immediately arrested, and sent into banishment, on the other side of the Andes. The result of this meeting was the election of a *junta*, to rule in the name of Ferdinand VII. The old officers were displaced, and new ones elected in the different branches of government. A few days after this, the royal military commander took possession of the square, at the head of a few troops that remained in his interest, and attempted a counter-revolution in favour of the king. They were however, immediately dispersed by the militia and populace. A few of the troops were killed, and their commander who had taken refuge in the

church of Santo Domingo, was brought forth and shot, at once, upon the spot.

A correspondence had already been maintained with some of the principal inhabitants of Concepcion, and a like revolution took place there, about the same time, and with similar results, under the auspices of Don Juan Rosa, a very able and wealthy man, who was immediately sent a deputy to the Junta in Santiago. These proceedings were approved of by the *Central Junta* in Spain, and negotiations were entered into for the purpose of effecting a general and equal representation *there*, which however, subsequent events rendered fruitless.

For about four months, every thing remained in tranquillity, and no public event of importance occurred. Among the foremost in revolutionary exertions, were the *Carreras*—one of the most wealthy and respectable families in the kingdom;—and the efficient members of this family, were three brothers, José Miguel, Juan José, and Luis; young, brave, rich, liberal, accomplished and gallant,—somewhat chivalric in their turn of mind, and perfectly united in their views. The eldest had just returned from

Spain, where he had been for some years in the service of the king. They were nearly of the same stature, and appeared of the same age,—and were conspicuous among all the youth of Chili, as well for their talents, as for their beauty, strength, and manly accomplishments. These three brothers, aware of the insufficiency of authorities so suddenly and rashly constituted, resolved to wrest the government from the feeble hands of the Junta, and to give to it force and energy by concentrating it in their own. Their liberality, amounting often to prodigality, completely won for them the affections of the troops,—and their numerous connections and general popularity in the city, rendered their plan extremely easy of execution. Without convoking the people, and without any show of military force, on the day agreed upon by their friends, they took possession of the Palace, the Arsenal, the Mint, and other public buildings, in which they placed their own guards,—and without opposition or commotion, quietly seated themselves in the chair of government. José Miguel assumed the

title of Presidente, and Commander in chief of the forces,—and several of the chief military and civil offices were united in each of the two brothers. The Junta was still kept up, but was composed entirely of friends and relations devoted to the interests of the three brothers. At this period the idea of separation and independence began first to be publicly encouraged, and the resources of Chili to be developed. In the present year, 1820, and after ten years of civil commotions and constant impositions and contributions, Chili has been enabled, without the aid of foreign loans, to equip a fleet of twenty sail of ships of war, and to transport seven thousand troops to Lima;—from this we may form some estimate of the extent of the revenue that for some years remained at the uncontrouled disposal of the Carreras. These now employed themselves in augmenting and equipping the army, and in erecting public buildings, and beautifying the city;—and nothing of importance occurred, till early in 1813, *Pareja*, a general from Lima, landed in Talcahuano, at the head of about twelve hundred

troops, chiefly from the island of Chiloe. As there were but few troops to oppose him in Concepcion, he shortly got possession of almost the whole province, and advanced as far as the river Maule, the boundary between the province and *Chili proper*, before the Carreras had completed their preparations to march against him, and arrest his progress. At last however, they left Santiago, with about three thousand troops, crossed the Maule, and came up with Pareja at the head of nearly the same number. In an engagement that followed, the royalists were defeated—the general was killed—and the troops that escaped, retired to *Chillan*, a place not strong by its natural position, but which they fortified, and defended themselves under *Sanchez*, who succeeded Pareja, against a siege and repeated assaults of the Patriots. The Carreras now passed on with a few troops to the City of Concepcion, and the main army of the Patriots, under O'Higgins, son of the late Viceroy of Lima, and then a captain, retired to Talca, on the river Maule. While negotiations for peace.

and submission were going on between the Carreras and the Royalists in Chillan, in August, 1814, Osorio, a royal general, arrived in Talcahuano, with about three thousand troops from Lima. The Carreras now fled towards Santiago, and on the road, were taken prisoners by a party that sallied from Chillan, and carried thither ;—from whence, however, they soon contrived to escape, with the loss of their baggage, and a considerable treasure. They arrived in Santiago in the disguise of Pedlars, and the day after reassumed their authority, though there had been some formidable commotions, in opposition to them, in the city, during their absence.

Active preparations were now made to resist Osorio, who soon formed a junction with the troops in Chillan, and was now advancing with a well appointed army,—while the Patriots were still deficient in arms and discipline. O'Higgins, with the troops at Talca, was ordered to advance and post himself at Rancagua, a considerable town, thirty-four leagues south of Santiago, and six leagues from Rio Cla-

ro. He was here joined in September by the Carreras, with about two thousand troops from the city. They here awaited the approach of the Royalists, who arrived in the suburbs of the town, on the 3d of October. The next morning they entered the town in the order of battle, and a most obstinate and bloody engagement took place in the great square, and the neighbouring streets. The fire commenced on Friday noon, and continued with no other intermission than during the hours of night, until near sunset on Sunday. The Patriots at last gave way, exhausted, more from the want of *water*, from which the Royalists had cut them off, than from the fatigues of the combat. Their army was almost annihilated—but few remained prisoners, and still fewer escaped. O'Higgins and Juan José Carrera leaped the walls of an entrenchment, and owed their escape to the fleetness of their horses. The two other brothers of the Carreras were not in the engagement, but remained the while, with a corps of reserve of eight hundred men, about two leagues distant.

from the town. Their conduct on this occasion is inexplicable, and is not attempted to be justified even by their friends. The news of the result of this engagement produced the utmost consternation in the city. Those who were most compromitted in the cause of patriotism, fled in all directions. The Carreras, O'Higgins, and the chief civil and military officers, after remaining two days in the city, crossed the Andes together, and proceeded to Buenos Ayres.

Osorio, having now no further opposition to contend with, marched directly to the Capital, of which he took quiet possession. The old order of things was reestablished, and those officers of the King who had remained in Chili, were restored to their places. Some imprisonments and confiscations took place, and some heavy contributions were levied upon the people, but on the whole, it is universally agreed, that Osorio did not abuse his victory. Thus ended what is termed *La Patria vieja*.

After restoring peace and tranquillity to the kingdom, and settling the affairs of government, Osorio, with a portion of his

troops, returned to Lima, leaving Don Francisco Marcó de Pontagil, a Spanish nobleman of great wealth and powerful connexions, *Presidente* of Chili.

For more than two years, no event of importance occurred to disturb the public tranquillity, and the tempest that had been raised in favour of independence, seemed to have subsided into a perfect calm : but other clouds were now gathering beyond the Andes, that were soon to burst upon their heads, and again involve them in all the turbulence of civil warfare.

In *Buenos Ayres*, the revolution in favour of independence, had been effected earlier, and under happier auspices, than in Chili. Her extensive foreign commerce had afforded her greater facilities in obtaining the munitions of war,—and her situation exempted her from fears of invasion, except from Old Spain alone. The Patriot army was respectable, and well equipped, and the government had every appearance of strength and stability. An alliance, offensive and defensive, had already been formed between that government and Chili, and the plan of

an Union of the States had been matured, but not carried into full execution. In the latter part of 1816, the Buenos Ayrean government resolved to undertake the emancipation of Chili. An army of about three thousand men, composed of natives of Buenos Ayres, and Patriots of Chili, who had taken refuge there, was raised, with secrecy and dispatch, and ordered to rendezvous at Mendoza, a large city at the foot of the Andes, on the Buenos Ayrean side. The command of this army was entrusted to José San Martín, a native of the interior of Buenos Ayres, and who had already the reputation of being an able and valiant officer. O'Higgins, the present Supreme Director, whose valour had likewise been proved, was second in command. The Carreras, whose power had declined, more rapidly than it rose, had become obnoxious to the government of Buenos Ayres, and were allowed no participation in this expedition. The army crossed the Andes in January, 1817, and arrived in Chili, before the people at large, and apparently, before the government, had any intimation of the intended invasion,

Active preparations for resistance were now made in all quarters, and the royal forces were concentrated in the Capital. They were intrusted to the command of Sambruno, a Spanish officer who had arrived with Osorio, and who had rendered himself extremely odious to the people, by his cruel and brutal treatment of those who were so unfortunate as to fall in his power. The Royal army at this time amounted to upwards of eight thousand men—but their forces were divided by a stratagem of San Martin's. While *he*, with the main army, took the direct road from Mendoza to Santiago, Freyre, (now governor of Concepcion) was ordered to cross the Andes farther to the south. *He* entered Chili, with only one hundred and fifty men, near to the borders of the *province of Concepcion*. The rumour of an invasion from this quarter, immediately reached the Capital, and a part of the royal army was dispatched towards Talca, in order to repel it. In the meantime San Martin approached the Capital, and Sambruno marched out to meet him, at the head of four thousand troops.

The armies encountered each other at a place called *Chacabuco*, ten leagues north of Santiago, on the morning of the 12th of February, and an engagement immediately ensued. The battle commenced by a charge from the cavalry of the Patriots, which was successful in breaking the line of the Royalists, and almost immediately put them in confusion. They had generally given way, before the infantry of the Patriots could be engaged. They were completely routed and pursued with great slaughter. Sambruno, with the principal officers, and most of the army were taken prisoners. On the news of this engagement, Freyre, with his handful of men, advanced; the people rose generally to join him, and he was shortly enabled to disperse or make prisoners of the troops that had been sent to oppose him in the South.

The principal Royalists now thought only of escape—some took the road to Concepcion and Talcahuano, and others to the port of Valparaiso, in hopes to find means to embark. Most of them, however, were arrested in their flight, by the people who

now rose, in all quarters, in favour of the cause of Patriotism. Marcó, with a guard of about one hundred men, was taken prisoner on the road to the port. He was shortly afterwards, sent to a military post, between Mendoza and Buenos Ayres, where he is still guarded. *Sambruno*, after having been imprisoned for five days, was brought forward and shot, amidst the execrations of the people. The liberating army entered Santiago in triumph, and were received with every demonstration of joy; and measures were immediately taken for the organization of a new government. In an assembly of the chief citizens, officers, &c. it was decided that the supreme authority should reside in one *Director*, to be advised and assisted by a Senate, consisting of six members. San Martin was elected to the office of Director, by *acclamation*. He however, declined accepting it, and recommended to the deputations that waited upon him, the election of a *native of Chili*.

O'Higgins, the present Director, was then elected, in as popular a manner, as the times and circumstances would allow. San

Martin was made Commander in Chief of the military forces, which post he still holds. Thus ended the rule of the Royalists in *Chili proper*. The Province of Concepcion however was still in their hands, and their force had been augmented by those who had escaped or emigrated from Santiago.

Having organized the different branches of government in the Capital, and increased and equipped the army, the Director himself, with about four thousand troops, under the command of the French general ———, set off for Concepcion, in order to settle public affairs *there*. They entered the province without opposition, and proceeded directly to the Capital. The Royalists, not being in sufficient force to meet them upon even ground, retired to the port of Talcahuano, three leagues from the city. This place, strong by nature afforded every facility for fortifications, in the erection of which, both troops and citizens were now assiduously employed. In the port too, were a Spanish frigate and two sloops of war. This place became the refuge of

the principal Royalists of the province ; while the Patriots had their head quarters in Concepcion, besieging Talcahuano, and preparing for an assault. This was the posture of affairs, at the time I arrived in the kingdom of Chili.

CHILI, 1820.

The fate of the unfortunate family of *Carrera* is truly lamentable, and cannot fail to excite sympathy, whatever may have been their follies or even their crimes.— They were, as far as I can learn, somewhat dissipated, prodigal, and unreserved in their gallantries, but at the same time that they lost the confidence of the reflecting part of the community by these defects, they certainly possessed, in a high degree, all those qualities that ensure popular estimation. It is still very evident that they were much beloved—and with the military, their influence was unbounded. A conspiracy in favour of the elder brother, who still survives, was discovered in Santiago, the present year, on the eve of its execution—and most of the officers of one regiment, to-

gether with one citizen of the United States, whom I knew, were sent into perpetual banishment.

In future years, when Chili shall have assumed that station among the nations of the earth, which her situation and resources ensure her to obtain, and those who were most conspicuous in achieving her independence, shall be viewed through the exaggerating medium of retrospection, the characters of these men will afford not only ample materials for the historian, but interesting incidents to employ the tragic muse. An only sister, Xaviera, most devotedly attached to them, and who had been the partaker of their councils, resolved likewise to share their fate, and accompanied them across the Andes. The elder brother, José Miguel, soon embarked for the United States, in search of foreign aid.

The two other brothers, after the battle of Chacabuco, resolved to return to their country. On their way, in Mendoza, they were arrested, imprisoned, accused and convicted of a conspiracy against the constituted authorities of Chili. They were

publicly shot, together with some of their friends, in the Square of Mendoza, on the 8th or 9th of April, 1818. The lands and estates of the whole family were confiscated—and their aged father was sent into exile to the uninhabited island of Juan Fernandez. He was permitted to return, the last year, but only in time to die.

The sister remains in Buenos Ayres, deserted and poor—after having been from early youth the model of taste and fashion in Chili. José Miguel returned from the United States, with very considerable resources—but after his party in Chili had fallen, apparently never to rise again. He is now a partizan chief somewhere in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres, and it is said, is inimical to that government. He was an intimate friend of the American commissioner, Poinsett, who was his companion in several of his perils and toils.

August, 1817.—at Sea.

We left *Staten land* on the 1st of August, and were never again in sight of land, while in the neighbourhood of Cape Horn. The

weather gradually grew cooler and the sea more boisterous. We were fourteen days near the Cape, endeavouring to double it, and all the while contending with contrary winds, and frequent storms of hail and snow. We were obliged to lie to, however, only for one night, and I believe we were never in any immediate peril—but the heavy sea and constant tossing of the ship, the cold, and frequent gusts of hail and snow, added to the extreme length of the nights, and the absence of the moon, all together made our sojourn in the neighbourhood of Cape Horn excessively tedious and unpleasant. We passed it at last, in lat. 56° S. and immediately afterwards experienced a favourable change in the course of the winds and the temperature of the air.

We had a good run from the Cape northward. Our spars, especially the bowsprit, were considerably damaged in the bad weather near the Cape, and previously, but after getting round, we met with no weather to put their strength to the test. Nor did any thing material occur, till

August 22, lat. 37° S.

This morning, at 6 o'clock, we discovered land, and found that, agreeably to our calculations, it was the high land in the neighbourhood of Concepcion. It was decided to run for the island of Santa Maria, and there to land in hopes of finding fresh supplies, and materials to repair our damages. At noon, we came in sight of the island. Though the day was wet and unpleasant, yet the appearance of the island, as we approached it, was most refreshing and inviting. We run in the southernmost entrance to the bay, and at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, anchored in five fathoms water. There was a considerable swell in the bay, owing to the storm that was just over—otherwise every appearance of safety and security. As this was the first time we had rode at anchor, since we left home, we were of course not a little comforted by the prospect of a night of tranquil repose.

August 23.

On rising this morning, the scene that presented itself was one of the most delightful I ever viewed. Our vessel riding

safely at anchor in an extensive and beautiful bay—the sea calm,—the sky unclouded, and though in mid winter, the temperature of the air mild and genial, as with us in the latter part of May. On the island, from the nearest part of which we were distant about two miles, there was every appearance of the most luxuriant vegetation, and every variety of scenery to form a perfect landscape. The distant hills on the coast of Chili, all rising to what we should call mountains, were covered with verdure, and bore every mark of richness and fertility.

In the bay, and while entering it, we were surrounded by innumerable flocks, containing myriads of *birds* of several different species ; and these flocks often extended out to sea farther than the eye could reach. Some of the smaller kind we shot and cooked, and found them extremely rich and fine flavoured, of greyish colour, formed like the pigeon, with *red* and very bright eyes.

Knowing that the island was frequently, if not generally inhabited, we amused our-

selves in the morning with conjectures with regard to whom we might meet there, and what might be our reception. We could distinctly discern three or four huts along the beach, but could discover nothing with the glass but birds, that seemed to have motion.

About nine o'clock, the Captain, Super-cargo and myself, with a sailor and one of the boys, with our muskets on our shoulders, pushed off for the island. In a few minutes we were safely landed on the beach, and for the first time for more than eighty days, found ourselves on *terra firma*. The island completely answered the expectations which the distant view of it had raised. Near the huts upon the shore, we found the bones of a Whale, and a number of articles of domestic use, upon some of which was inscribed "Ship N. America, Philadelphia Jan'y. 1817."—Probably the last American ship, the crew of which had been on shore there.

The land gradually rises on all sides, towards the centre of the island, though the highest part is much lower than the neigh-

bouring country on the continent. We immediately ascended to the most elevated point, though occasionally with considerable difficulty, owing to the luxuriance of the grass and herbage ; from thence, we had a view of the vast ocean of the South, and of the grand and picturesque scenery of the coast of Chili, over against us. The face of the country cannot, at any season, be more beautiful than at present ; (though in mid winter,) since every tree and shrub is in full foliage and blossom, and all the spontaneous productions of the earth are abundant beyond any thing I had ever conceived of. In many places on the island, the *grass*, of the finest quality, is nearly as high as our heads, and as thick as in any New-England farmer's meadow, in mowing time. Here it ripens, and here it rots—and no man or beast is at hand, to crop the luxuriance of nature. The whole island consists of hill and vale, alternate, the soil uniformly rich, and calculated for first rate farms. A small stream of water nearly divides the island, the banks of which are in some places high and steep, and covered with a

great variety of trees and shrubs ; among which you recognize many of those that we preserve with so much care in the green Conservatories in New-England. The tops of the hills are covered with *Aloes*. We saw no great variety of *birds* on shore ; the most common resembled our *Snow birds*. After rambling about for two or three hours upon the hills, we returned to the shore, without having met with any adventure, or having encountered any living creature excepting birds. Near to the huts, we found what we supposed had been the garden of some ships' crew that had wintered on the island ; and in it, a few potatoes, plenty of turnips, and greens of every sort, with which we loaded our boat. We returned on board at one o'clock, having ascertained that we could not obtain there, such supplies and repairs as we needed. The island is about twelve or fourteen miles in circumference, and nearly in the form of a crescent.

August 23.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, we got under weigh, and stood for the continent. We had but a slight breeze during

the night, and at sunrise found ourselves still some leagues distant from the port of Concepcion. About noon we were opposite the *tetas* of Concepcion, and could distinguish signals upon the hills. We passed along near the shore, slowly, till about four o'clock, a breeze sprang up which soon carried us towards Concepcion. We arrived abreast of the bay about six o'clock, and in sight of the shipping that were lying in it. Just before dark, and as we approached the island of Queriquina, which divides the entrance of the port which leads to Concepcion, we were boarded by a canoe; the men who were in it asked permission to come on board, and in conversation informed us that all was quiet on the coast, and all in possession of the Royalists. This visit was soon followed by another of more men, and in a larger boat. As it was already late, we decided not to enter the port that night, but to anchor outside, which we did at seven o'clock, on the eastern side of Queriquina in twenty fathoms water.

August 24.

Before eight o'clock last night, we were

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boarded by a frigate's launch, with two officers and thirty or forty men, who took possession of the brig, and placed guards over us all. The captain was ordered on board the frigate lying in the bay, and left us at half past nine, and returned about one o'clock. At four in the morning, they got us under weigh, and at seven we were safely anchored in the bay of Talcahuano, between a frigate of thirty six guns and a corvette of twenty eight. The weather this day seemed to correspond with our circumstances; a strong northerly wind, with rain, cold and cheerless, as if to denote that we were really prisoners. Thus far I have been able to write this morning, in the presence of the officers of the ships of war; others, with custom house officers, are now pouring in upon us, and we have nothing in prospect but confusion and misery.

August 25.

Our usual occupations on board are now entirely suspended, and the cabin, and indeed the brig is completely crowded with officers and soldiers, so that henceforth, I foresee that I shall have no time to write or

read, if even to make minutes of the circumstances that occur.

September, 1817.

For three or four days after we anchored here, we had cold northerly winds, often accompanied with rain, the prevailing weather here, during the three winter months. We are now however enjoying a clear sky, brilliant sun, and a warm and genial atmosphere.

The bay of Talcahuano is spacious, safe, and extremely beautiful, it is somewhat in the form of a horseshoe, and nearly encircled by hills of different heights, which present a great variety of picturesque scenery. There are two entrances to the bay, one on each side of the island of Quequena, though the eastern entrance is the only one by which vessels of magnitude can safely enter the port. The island of Quequena is a miniature of Santa Maria, appears to be composed of the same soil, and to possess the same varieties. It is famous for the *Muscles* upon its shore, which the people here use as we do oysters, indeed the common people almost live upon them; they are extremely rich and fine flavoured,

and larger than any oysters I ever saw. The whole bay indeed is filled with these muscles, and from our anchorage ground, we often scrape them up in large quantities, with a sort of rake attached to a line.

We have now for several weeks been under the charge of a lieutenant of the Venganza frigate, Don José Solari, a gentlemanly man and good officer, together with four, and sometimes six custom house officers, who have all lived with us in the cabin. In the mean time, there have been two thorough overhauls and examinations of the whole cargo, piece by piece ; three merchants of Concepcion, now residing in Talcahuano were appointed by the authorities here, commissioners for that purpose ; but after fulfilling their commission with much care, they have found nothing but what was fully seen in the invoices.

Previously however to this examination of the cargo, there were commissioners appointed to take the declarations of the officers and crew. These declarations were taken in Spanish, and the only one to pass

between us and them, and to interpret our answers to their long and intricate questions, was a young Guernsey boy, who was captured by the Spaniards in these seas, some years ago ; and who from the critical period in which he was taken from home, and his subsequent changes of employment and situation, has in a great measure forgotten his native language, without having acquired with accuracy any other. We trust however, that we shall, ere long, be sent to some other tribunal, where justice will be done us in this and in other respects.

October.

It was some time before we could gather correct accounts of the situation of the place, to which our evil stars had led us. By degrees we became informed that the bay and port of Talcahuano were all, of the kingdom of Chili, that now remained in possession of the Royalists, that the city of Concepcion, only nine miles distant was the head quarters of the Patriot army, and that they were now menacing an attack upon the port.

We have already seen them several times

reconoitering upon the heights at four or five miles distance; and on all such occasions, the launches of the ships of war are immediately manned, and the alarm given from the forts.

November.

We have been allowed to go on shore, and have been shewed round the lines and fortifications by the aids and officers of the commanding general Ordoner. They are still hard at work in digging fosses and driving pikes, and almost the whole population of the port is impressed in the service.

The territory in the immediate vicinity of the port, and now in possession of the Royalists, extends in length from south to north about ten miles, and three or four in breadth, washed by the bay of St. Vicente on the south, and the bay of Talcahuano on the eastern side; the banks on each side, and throughout almost the whole extent, rising mountain high, and so steep and precipitous that it is a rare thing to find a place where a mule can ascend.

The most eastern extremity of this pe-

ninsula, nearest to Concepcion and most exposed to attack, does not afford so many natural obstacles, the hills not rising so abruptly; but even here, it has afforded such facilities for fortifications, as has rendered it apparently, almost as impregnable as Gibraltar. The inhabitants do not appear to be much alarmed, though in daily expectation of a general assault.

In the mean-time, the Beaver, a rich ship from New-York commanded by captain Cleveland, and bound as we were to the North-West Coast, touched here, and was seized and taken possession of in the same manner as the Canton. For several weeks we were not allowed to have any communication with her, but the restrictions are now removed, and we visit as we please. The supplies brought by our two vessels have proved a most seasonable relief to the garrison here. The troops were miserably armed, and badly supplied in every respect. Our muskets were recognized upon their shoulders the very day after they were taken from on board. A great part of the cargo too, which they have taken on ap-

der, to the encampments on the opposite hills.

December 8.

From all the information we can gain with regard to this battle, the utmost bravery was displayed on both sides; though the Patriots were so much more numerous, and so much better equipped, and though they entered the lines, in two different places, and got possession of one of the most important batteries and spiked the cannon in it, yet they were repulsed at last, and left their dead, though none of their wounded, to the mercy of the victors.

We went on shore at noon, to visit the scene of action, and found the army engaged in burying their dead, and between two and three hundred of the Patriots, lying dead in the fosses, pierced and mangled most horribly. The scene that presented itself along the shore, on the morning of the attack, was truly distressing; hundreds of women and children thronged the beach, entreating, in the most piteous terms, to be taken on board. Our boats were immediately manned for the purpose of bringing

on board, as many as we could receive; but before they could leave the brig, orders came from the frigate near us, that no boat should be allowed to put off for the shore; so that for hours, we were obliged to behold the distress of these miserable creatures, with the ability and will to relieve but forbidden to exercise them.

After this attack, many of the families in Talcahuano obtained permission to remain on board the ships in the harbour; and as the supercargo had already an extensive acquaintance in Talcahuano, there was no lack of applications to be received on board. Three or four fathers of families, with their tribes, amounting to between thirty and forty, remained on board during the season of alarm, which continued for nearly a month.

About this time the Patriots, who had encamped so formidably in front of the port, showed a disposition to retreat, and having set fire to their barracks and works on the neighbouring hills, retired again to Concepcion; and in the course of a few days, having probably gained information

of the convoy, with troops, that was momentarily expected from Lima, they decided to retreat towards Chili; and having set fire to the houses of the principal royalists in the city, and destroyed every moveable of value, which they could not take with them, they commenced their march for Santiago, accompanied by almost all the inhabitants, whom, it is said, they forced to follow them.

February, 1818.

In a few days after the retreat of the Patriots, arrived the long expected expedition from Lima. It consisted of one frigate, and nine large transport ships. They brought with them four thousand regular troops, (many of them veterans from Spain) under command of *Osorio*, the same General, who in the first revolution, four years since, retook the kingdom from the Patriots, and reestablished order and regal government. He rendered himself very popular by the mild manner in which he treated the Patriots on their subjugation, as well as by his bravery and good conduct in the field. For these reasons, the hopes of the

Royalists now are sanguine and unbounded. The civil officers of Chili, who had most of them fled to Lima, have returned with him, in expectation of being soon reestablished in their authority.

Osorio is now in the city of Concepcion, and at the head of about five thousand troops, and on the point of marching in pursuit of the Patriot army. By the last accounts from *them*, they were at Talca, about eighty leagues in the interior from Concepcion, and on the road to Santiago.

I have not yet been to Concepcion, though the communication is now open. It is almost impossible to obtain horses, all, for many miles circuit having been impressed for the use of the Royal army; nor indeed, can there be any thing as yet, to attract one to the city, the Patriot portion of the inhabitants having all deserted it, and followed the army; and the Royalists who were concealed in the mountains, or had taken refuge in the port, not having yet had time to return and reestablish themselves.

With regard to the attack of the 6th of

December, there is no doubt that with a little more force at the first onset, and with half an hour more of obscurity, the Patriots would inevitably have carried the works, and gained possession of Talcahuano. Even at daylight, it was the opinion of the officers of the ships of war in the bay, that they had done so, and our sails, which were on board the frigate, were immediately sent to us, and we put in preparation to depart at a moment's warning.

The Patriots, at this time, had few, if any more troops, than they had maintained for six months past, in the neighbourhood of Concepcion. At the time we arrived, Talcahuano was, comparatively speaking, unfortified, and from that time, to the day of the attack, almost every man, woman and child were impressed to work on the fortifications.

At that time, with one thousand determined troops, the place would easily have been taken. Why, then, the Patriots, who surely possessed the means of obtaining information of what was passing here, should have delayed their attack, until the Royalists had time completely to fortify the

peninsula, and should have made it just at the time that the last of their works of defence were complete and in order, is perfectly inexplicable, and has been the theme of wonder to us all. The force of the Patriots consisted of at least five thousand troops, a large portion of them cavalry, well mounted and equipped.

February 10.

This day, the troops commence their march for *Chili*, (as Santiago and its neighbourhood is called, by way of eminence, and in contradistinction to Concepcion;) an event most grateful and auspicious for us, as it gives us the prospect of a free intercourse with the neighbouring country, and at the same time, improves our market, and lessens the price of provisions. For some time past, every thing has been monopolized for the use of the army; and indeed during the whole siege, the price of all articles of necessity was enormously high. On the retreat of the Patriots, provisions of all kinds fell to less than one half their former price; and the departure of the army, will now probably bring back all

the productions of the earth to their customary standard.

We can now purchase a good bullock for ten dollars, wheat for one dollar and twenty-five cents the bushel, and wine for a dollar the *Cantero*, (about nine bottles.) We are allowed to remain on board the brig, and to purchase provisions for ourselves, presenting our account to the Fiscal, every fortnight or month, which is always allowed without objection. We see no prospect of immediate change from this mode of life; it probably will continue till the contest between the contending armies, which cannot now, be long delayed, is decided. We shall then, probably, if the result is in favour of the Royalists, be ordered to Valparaiso, and our cause decided in Santiago; if the Royalists should be worsted, then immediately to Lima, upon this however, they calculate so little, that almost all the civil officers of Chili have accompanied the army, and are ready to reassume their authority.

According to the information we can obtain here, the government of Chili is inde-

pendent of that of Lima ; and there is no appeal from the courts in Santiago, except to the court of Spain. This may be the constitution of the kingdom, but it is notorious, that the cases of several American ships, seized in Chili, have been ultimately decided by the Viceroy and his council in Lima. There being, when we first arrived here, but a span of territory in possession of the king, and no regularly organized courts of justice, we concluded of course that we should be ordered to Lima at once ; which probably would have been the case, but for the peculiar situation in which we found them here. They considered our arrival as a providential interference for their relief : So, indeed, it proved ; and no sooner were some shadows of forms passed with regard to the brig and cargo, than we recognized our muskets upon the shoulders, our clothes upon the backs, and our money in the pockets of his majesty's troops in Talcahuano. Their attempt at a legal process of condemnation, was absolutely ridiculous. No violation of the laws of Spain, or of the laws of nations has been

insisted on; but the principal ground of condemnation, is, the alleged violation of one of our acts of Congress, (to prevent improper interference of individuals in the affairs of Spanish revolutionists); and our sentence, after confiscation, is, to be transported to the United States, and there to be punished in pursuance of the penal clauses of the said law. The General (and governor) Ordoner, who appears to be a man of honour, has referred all these affairs to an *assessor*, who was sent from Lima, to act in Talcahuano, as a sort of state's attorney; and with regard to this man, we have made up our minds that he possesses little or no legal knowlege, contracted views, and not the most incorruptible integrity. Under this man's direction, our whole cargo has been landed and sold—not at public sale, for the most it would bring, but, (after the army, &c. &c. were supplied) in lots, at fixed prices, no one being allowed to give more than the previously estimated value of each article. Many of the goods were thus disposed of, cheaper than they could have been purchased in Boston. This mode of

procedure seems most unreasonable, whosever interest was to be consulted, yet such was the fact; and such moreover is the manner in which goods to the amount of more than one hundred thousand dollars of the cargo of the Beaver, are now disposing of in Concepcion. For this mode of proceeding, the authorities here have offered to Capt. Cleveland in writing, as reasons, the extreme poverty of the inhabitants at the present time; and their unparalleled hardships and undaunted bravery in enduring the siege, and resisting the attack of the enemy.

Since we have been in Talcahuano, there have arrived several deputations from the Indians; and it is one of the most singular circumstances attending the present warfare, that these old and inveterate enemies of the king, whom he has spent so much blood and treasure in endeavouring to subdue, are now his firm allies, and universally opposed to the patriots.

They have lately had several skirmishes in the interior with alternate success. Any advantage gained by the Indians is imme-

diately communicated to head quarters by a deputation of chiefs, who are always received with much parade, and loaded with presents on their return. They are said to have greatly degenerated from the old Araucanian character, and the intercourse with the Spaniards to have been greatly deleterious to them; and that they still preserve their territories, which are known to be richer in mines, and more fertile than any other parts of Chili, is owing, probably, to the weakness of the Spaniards than to any strength of their own. I have seen several bodies of them from twenty to sixty in number. Their general appearance is not very different from that of the tribes of Indians upon the frontiers of the United States.

February.

Before our goods were all landed, we were completely overrun with officers and soldiers; of late, we have had only two officers in the cabin, Solar and Eguia, both of them obliging and gentlemanly men, so that we have enjoyed something of comparative comfort.

Almost all the soldiers, and most of the officers who composed the garrison when we arrived, were native Americans, of mixed breed and of light mulatto complexion. They appear to make good troops, and not to lack spirit. They take to themselves great credit, and not without reason, for the fortitude and perseverance displayed during the siege, and their bravery in repelling the attack. While the enemy was immediately before the town for six weeks, not an officer or man could close his eyes at night. Almost every hour some alarm was sounded, and a night seldom passed without a serious cannonading. The advance of the Patriots, in their encampment, was so near to us, that they were able to throw bombs over the forts into the town, and occasionally did considerable damage; two or three persons were killed, and several houses injured in this manner. We were permitted to enter the lines when we pleased, and were frequently present when trials of skill in the management of artillery took place. The balls of the largest cannon, in several of the forts, would reach the patriot en-

campment, and at times a brisk fire was kept up, apparently however, with little effect.

February, 1818.

The ships of war have sailed for Lima, except the frigate *Esmeralda*, which came with the convoy. We feel their departure very sensibly, as our chief intercourse was with them; we were always cordially received on board their ships, and they paid us frequent visits in return. On board the corvette *Sebastiana*, I passed many pleasant hours; the captain and surgeon were uncommonly amiable and sensible men: The captain, Tosta, had already some knowledge of English, and we have passed an hour or two every morning in giving and receiving lessons in English and Spanish. By the departure of the ships, our Spanish acquaintance is sadly reduced both in numbers and quality. They talk of returning before we leave this place; when that may be, depends on the uncertain fate of battles.

I hope and believe that it would be doing injustice to the Chilenos, to take the so-

ciety, manners and customs, style of living and appearance of Talcahuano, at the present time, as a sample for the kingdom, though it is true that much of the best society, and many of the wealthiest and most respectable families of the *province* are now gathered here. In ordinary times, this place is of no other importance, than as a sort of out-port to Concepcion, where goods are laden and unladen, and vessels ride in safety, and obtain their supplies. Most of the buildings are store houses, long and wide, of one story in height, the walls extremely thick and clumsy, and composed of large brick, or tile, dried in the sun only. The dwelling houses are in the same style, and generally plaistered without, and whitened in imitation of marble. They consist almost universally of one large room, into which the front door enters, and two smaller ones at each end, which serve as bedchambers. There are few houses that have more than one window, and that not glazed. The floors in some houses are covered with tile, but in the generality of the houses you find no other floor than the

ground, and that not always trodden smoothly.

There are perhaps three hundred houses of this description in the port, and the best are occupied by the officers of the army, and the families of Royalists, who have fled here for refuge. They have no chimneys, not even in their kitchens; and the only mode of warming the atmosphere of a room, is by bringing in a pan of lighted coals. In their houses, they are exceedingly, abominably dirty. In the *Sala*, or main room, which generally resembles a neglected store house, you find displayed chairs, tables, carpets, sometimes beds, meat, wood, charcoal, sacks of wheat, and wine, pictures, guitars, saints, martyrs, and in fact almost every thing that the family possesses. Hence the *fleas swarm* in all parts. You cannot pass half an hour in any house in Talcahuano, without bringing away with you more of these most noxious insects, than you have hairs upon your head. Great numbers of them were brought on board the brig, in the bedding of those who fled to us for safety, after the battle, since when they have con-

stantly increased, and now form the chief torment of our lives. It is impossible to sleep, on their account, but from mere exhaustion of nature. Our first hours occupation in the morning is generally to search for those that collect upon the blankets, having fattened upon us during the night. I am very ready to believe that all this may in a good measure, be owing to the times, and the circumstances in which we find them here ; and indeed, the situation of Talcahuano for the year past, has been such as to preclude attention almost to the decencies of life ; during this time, nearly ten thousand people have been pent up in this small town, with no other dependance for their sustenance, than supplies from Lima, (always tardy in arriving ;) and a precarious and dangerous smuggling trade with the opposite coast, in canoes. The change, on the retreat of the Patriots was great and instantaneous. In two days after they disappeared, the streets were filled with cattle, and the market glutted with wheat and vegetables. Fruit is just coming on. We have had strawberries and common

red cherries; half a dozen of their strawberries is a meal for a man; they are commonly more than an inch in diameter, but are not remarkably rich or fine flavoured. Their early pears and apples are likewise in the market, and are of the same species and quality with those first offered for sale with us. We can now obtain a sheep or a leg of beef for a dollar. We have had no fish either, till recently, but now plenty of smelts, mullets, &c. but salmon, halibut, cod and haddock, so far as I can learn, are not found in these waters.

The principal recreation I have found, since we have been allowed to go on shore, has been in rambling about the neighbouring hills; and they afford you in all parts, truly picturesque and *romantic* scenes.— Along the whole extent of the western borders of the bay, the banks rise to hills of several hundred feet in height; they appear from the shipping to be perpendicular; and are in fact, almost so; the ascent being extremely steep, and the heights only here and there accessible for man or beast. At intervals of about a quarter of a mile,

are cavities formed by a stream of water as it descends the hills, and by the side of these streams, are foot paths, which mules easily ascend and descend. The ascent on foot is not a little fatiguing, but having accomplished it you are rewarded for the pains. On the summit, throughout the whole peninsula, is an extensive and fertile plain, skirted with rich and beautifully variegated shrubbery. There are no high or large trees, but they are thickly set, and of extremely rich foliage; the sides of the hills too are covered with verdant plants and shrubs, and the path way up is often one continued grotto of fragrant evergreen. Here too, we found plenty of game, especially parrots and pigeons, who live in great tranquillity, the inhabitants being too habitually lazy ever to molest them.

Upon the skirts of the plain, as well as near the pathways, on the side of the hills, you meet every now and then a little thatched dwelling, not exactly a cottage, containing from four to a dozen fat healthy children, as many dogs and hens, and sometimes hogs, living together in the utmost

harmony and good fellowship. The rustics are universally hospitable and good natured, and always offer you whatever they possess.

March, 1818.

Finding there were no longer any obstacles, I set off a few days since, in company with a young Spanish officer, for *Concepcion*; mounted upon a good Chilano horse. All travelling here is on horseback, and I doubt whether a coach or chaise is maintained in Talcahuano or Concepcion. The road from the port to the city, is, with the exception of one hill, a sandy plain; the colour of the sand, dark iron-grey, heavy and consistent, and neither incommodes the horse or his rider, like the light yellow sand banks of our country. On the right, are the hills on which the Patriots were so long encamped, and on the left, marshy grounds, abounding in duck, woodcock, &c. for several miles; and afterwards light forest trees.

We see nothing of Concepcion, until we rise the hill under which it is situated, at the distance of about a mile.

There is nothing very inviting in its first appearance. The churches and houses are most of them covered with moss and have the colour and look of age. I have seen no city that resembles it in the least degree, either upon a near or distant view. The style of architecture in their public buildings, is completely new to me, having seen nothing but in prints, that resembles it. It seems to me to be a mixture of Antique, Gothic and Moorish.

Almost deserted and half destroyed as it now is, on entering it, it seemed as if I was treading among the ruins of Palmyra or Babylon. The city is laid out in regular squares, with all the streets at right angles; and as very few of the private houses consist of more than one story, and yet many of them are spacious, it of course covers an immensity of ground.

The number of inhabitants in ordinary times is estimated at about seventeen thousand. To almost every house is attached a fine fruit garden, producing with very little care or culture, abundance of grapes, peaches, pears, &c. though these have been

considerably injured by the Patriots, during the eight months they have had possession of the city. They have left their marks behind them, in all quarters ; every moveable of value they took with them ; and what was not considered worth transporting, they burnt or broke in pieces. The Cathedral was the chief stable for their Cavalry ; and it is said here, that they took from the other churches much that was solid and valuable. One extensive square, of the most beautiful houses in the city was levelled to the ground, as was the Bishop's palace, and indeed all the houses belonging to conspicuous Royalists, were sought out and set fire to. But here and there a family has returned, of those that had been concealed in the mountains, or had taken refuge in Talcahuano. A few officers and about one hundred soldiers of the army are left behind. Under these circumstances, you may easily conceive, that the city presents but a sad and gloomy spectacle. After a little search, we recognized some of our friends from Talcahuano, who received us very hospitably, and we were soon provid-

ed with lodging, &c. in the house of a widow lady, whom I had known before. She was in the same condition with many others of Concepcion, in the present times; possessing a fine large house, with a pension from the king of three thousand dollars a year, not a cent of which had she received for four or five years past; and with not a shilling on which to subsist. She received us with great kindness and politeness; and we sent for dinners and suppers of good things from abroad, which was easily managed, without any offence to her feelings, after she herself had made known her situation to us. We were soon invited to the house of another family, that had returned, and whom I had known before, (R——'s) In this family are seven grown up daughters, all amiable, good forms and complexions, and would be handsome, but that they have extremely defective teeth. This defect is every where striking. It is rare to find a girl, and extremely so to find a woman, with what would pass with us, for *decent* teeth. This is probably owing, not only to their entire neglect of them, but

likewise to the immense quantity of *Maté* or the herb of Paragua, which they drink ; it supplies the place of tea with us, and has the taste of some medicinal herbs ; it is taken at all hours of the day, and is sucked up through a silver tube, ten or twelve inches long, and is not relished unless it be *boiling hot* ; it is the first compliment offered on a visit. In attempting to sip it, I have had my lips and tongue so scalded, as to be extremely painful for some days. Some of our countrymen are getting used to it, and to like it, though at first it cost them many wry faces, and gave not a little diversion to the ladies that offered it. It is in general use, throughout the whole of South America. In the abovementioned family, we passed most of the two days we remained. We found there, a good piano, on which some of the girls played very tolerably.

In Concepcion are seven churches, besides the Cathedral, which is not yet finished. They are all large and *sightly*, and to an American eye, have something grand and imposing in their appearance. There

are none of the high steeples, and elevated domes, that first strike your eye, on approaching one of our cities; but every thing is massy, solid, and has the air of antique. They are all built of large, sun burnt brick, plaistered to imitate marble, cemented with bad mortar, and in a short time assume the aspect of decay. Though the city is so modern, there is not a public building that is not overrun with moss, and from many, the grass and herbage sprouts out for five or six feet in height.

I was in but one of the churches, that contiguous to the Nunnery, and one that was not injured by the Patriots; its proportions are fine, and its ornaments brilliant and imposing, though chiefly composed of tinsel. In this we heard mass, and afterwards *talked* with the nuns, who handed us the key of the organ, (on which one of our party played.) They gave us bouquets of beautiful flowers, and conversed with us very freely and amiably, but we could not get sight of them. The mode of communication is by a sort of cylinder, turning upon a pivot, and which is admirably contriv-

ed for conveying sound, and indeed any thing else, except sight. During the disturbances of the revolution, they have not increased; and we understand there is no *Novice* among them.

The plan of the *Cathedral* is magnificent; that, together with the bishop's palace, formed one side of the Plaza, or grand square; the government palace forming the opposite side. The church of the cathedral, within, is more than two hundred feet in length, supported by sixteen massy columns; between these, on each side, are altars half finished, and not yet decorated, but, as well as the chief altar, are in a style of great magnificence and grandeur. The roof is beautifully arched, and highly ornamented with gold work; but we are told not yet to form a judgment of this building, as it is but just redeemed from the hands of sacrilege. The palace opposite, has nothing to designate it, outwardly, it being but of one story in height, and though of great extent, not differing from other building in its general appearance. There is indeed a very great sameness in all the buildings, ex-

cept the churches, and very little taste displayed in their construction ; but as I have been in the city but two days, I have not yet had an opportunity to make very correct observations with regard to it.

The communication with the interior is now unimpeded, for thirty or forty leagues, and we have abundant supplies of fruit and provisions of all sorts. Still, however there is nothing of what we should call *free trade*. The government take on their own terms and at their discretion, the best horses and mules, and whatever of wheat, &c. they may need, for the service of the king. In these respects, the governour of Talcahuano is as despotic as any prince in Europe. There is no service, nor burthen, nor indignity, which the people do not seem content to bear, if it be imposed in the name of the king. The same spirit, (or rather want of spirit,) was probably universal throughout the kingdom, and the alledged atrocities and extravagancies of the patriots, are probably the result of the sudden transition from one extreme to the other.

March 15th.

Accounts have been received from the army of the Royalists, which left them on the other side of the river Maule, which they passed without opposition, and it is reported that the Patriots are retiring from Santiago across the Andes to Buenos Ayres. But we have nothing yet official.

Orders have been issued by the government here, for the appraisal and sale of the Beaver and the Canton; the captain and supercargo having refused to act in the appraisal, they have proceeded, *ex parte*, and have valued the brig at twenty thousand dollars, and she is now offered to the highest bidder. We can hardly yet think it possible that the brig is to be disposed of in so informal a manner, without an opportunity to appeal, and when from the uncertainty of affairs in the kingdom, property of all sorts has but a nominal value. And a few days will now decide. Two large English whalemens are now in the port, full, and bound home. Several of us had thoughts of taking passage in them, but on application to the authorities here, for passage money, we have been answered, that it would be

allowed only to the captain and supercargo, and to them, only one hundred dollars each. The captains of the whalemén, too, demand four hundred dollars for the passage, which, as they have plenty of room, we think a little ungenerous; but they say, it is conformable to their instructions.

I have been again to Concepcion, and find it somewhat better stocked with inhabitants, but otherwise not changed; the same gloomy and ruined aspect to all things.

These repeated revolutions have completely desolated the city, and neighbouring country, and for many years, it cannot recover its prosperity. Each party, as they have met with alternate success, has confiscated the lands and interests of the other. When the patriots last retreated, they left not a chair or table or any article of furniture, in their own houses; and the houses, as well as furniture of the Royalists, they completely destroyed. Yet now, there was every appearance of rejoicing in the city; the bells rang night and day, and constant salvos were fired from the batteries. This was in consequence of news from the army,

that there had been an engagement, which resulted in the defeat of the patriots, with the loss of three thousand men, and fourteen pieces of artillery. We are now in momentary expectation of an official account of this reported battle.

In Concepcion we were received with much cordiality, and treated with great hospitality; both men and women embrace us with a warmth and in a style that passes only between intimate connections at home. There is evidently a vast disproportion between the population of the males and females, the latter exceeding the former, (as we understand, in most parts of Chili,) in the ratio of seven to one; hence it proceeds, that the influence of female character is less, and the number of females without character is greater than in most other civilized nations.

March, 31st.

This morning we had the first *rain*, that has fallen for several months; it lasted only for a few hours, and was succeeded by a fine clear atmosphere, with a fresh breeze from the south, the prevailing wind for more

than eight months in the year. In the neighbourhood of the sea, it is generally fresh and strong; and there are but two or three degrees of difference in the temperature of the air between the winter and summer months. The *dews* are so abundant, that on deck, in the morning, one would suppose that a violent shower had just ended. These, with partial rains in summer, enable them to raise extra crops of many articles.

April, 1818.

I have been out to view the encampment of the Patriots during the siege: Suppose the peninsula on which Boston is situated, to be a continued hill, of the average height of three or four hundred feet, and connected with Dorchester by such a neck of land as leads to Roxbury; in this view, the Patriot army occupied heights, very much resembling those of Dorchester lower than the batteries of the Royalists, over which the bombs had to pass before they fell into the town. At the time of the attack, as the patriots advanced over the neck, they were constantly exposed to the fire of the

royal forts, from all the heights around. Yet in spite of these obstacles, the patriots ascended these heights, defended as they were, by deep ditches and barricadoes below, spiked all the cannon in one of the forts, but on the appearance of day, retired with considerable loss, to be sure, but, as it appeared to us, for no other reason than because they must have been ignorant of the weakness of their adversaries.

We have yet no official accounts from the seat of war, though the report of the successes of the Royal army, seems to be generally credited.

For some time past the English and American seamen in the port, have entertained some apprehensions of *impressment*, and a few nights since, ten or twelve of them, headed by Mr. Robinson, of Connecticut, set off in a whale boat, in the night, for Valparaiso, with the calculation that it is still in the hands of the Patriots. If the Royalists have been as successful as their accounts would lead us to believe, they are passing from one degree of danger and difficulty into a greater.

April 3d.

We are in momentary expectation of hearing of the conquest of Santiago and Valparaiso by the Royalists, and many have already sailed from hence in that hope. What will become of the American shipping there, and how far Capt. Biddle will venture in their defence, is a subject of interesting speculation to us all.

We are now in the fruit season, and if not of better quality, every sort is in infinitely greater abundance than with us; heaps of grapes of different kinds, and extremely delicious, you meet at every turn. I have seen as yet only one sort of Peaches, (Clingstone) but these large, rich and fine flavoured; sixpence will supply us, with what in Boston would be called a luxurious dessert. Every species of garden vegetable is likewise in great abundance. The potatoes are larger and finer than we find them in our states, white and mealy and fine flavoured. In this neighbourhood they take but little care of their gardens; it seems indeed almost enough not to *prevent* every production from thriving with luxuriance. The vine-

yards, in the interior, I am told, are cultivated with sufficient attention, though when once planted, *they* need but little care. Their wine is as abundant, and preserved nearly in the same way as cider in New-England, and is susceptible of proportional improvement. I have drank here, the ordinary wine of the purple grape, old and refined, equal to Bordeaux claret. It is, however, usually preserved with less care than we usually bestow on cider, and is used as table drink.

At last, we have received news from the army on which dependence can be placed, and the fate of Chili seems to be decided. I have seen a journal of one of the officers of the royal army directed to Sanchez, the governor of Talcahuano. By this it appears that the army passed the river Maule, in the neighbourhood of Talca, and about seventy leagues from Concepcion, without opposition from the patriots, who were encamped a few leagues distant. The two armies came in sight of each other, at a place called *Canharayada*, a few miles from Talca. Some skirmishing took place in the after-

noon, and towards night, they both retired to encamp. Ordonez insisted upon making an immediate attack, at the head of his division. At about eight o'clock, he surprised the Patriots, as they were serving out their supper and liquors. The patriots were taken off their guard, and were immediately and completely defeated and dispersed, with the loss of all their artillery, (fourteen pieces of which have already arrived here) and a great portion of their baggage, together with three thousand killed and wounded. The patriots are said to have been upwards of ten thousand strong, and were commanded by Generals San Martin and O'Higgins. The royal army is on its march to Santiago. *We* conclude that the fate of Chili is decided, though a number of Englishmen, now here, and who have been in Valparaiso, still assure us that Chili will never be retaken.

April 12th.

Abundant confirmation has arrived of the success of the royalists in Cancharayada, and all measures here are regulated upon the presumption that the whole of Chili is now in subjection to the king.

An English Whaleman, Capt. Cocksey, has been detained for several days in order to carry to England the news of the royal successes, that it may be transmitted in form, from the ambassador in London to the Spanish Court. We are momentarily in expectation of hearing that Santiago and Valparaiso have fallen, and are already preparing to bid adieu to Talcahuano.

April 22.

Never was there a more striking picture of the instability of human affairs, than has been presented to us, within the last week. From the pride of success, and the height of exultation, the inhabitants here, have sunk into the depths of misery and despair. If it is true, as stated above, that the royalists gained a decided victory at Cancharayada, were masters of the field of battle, and carried off the artillery of the Patriots, but it appears they did not follow up their success.

The Patriots fled, dispersed, but soon reunited, and with reinforcements, entered Santiago. Osorio followed them somewhat leisurely, and arrived within two leagues of

the city on the fifth of this month, the Patriot army immediately came out to meet him ; they engaged at once, and a most sanguinary battle of about three hours ensued, in which the *Royal* army was almost annihilated.

They engaged in two divisions, Osorio commanding one, and Ordoner the other. Osorio, after seeing one regiment desert, and a great part of his men dead on the field, escaped with about four hundred soldiers, most of whom were however, cut to pieces in their flight. He arrived, at last, in Talcahuano, with his aids, and fifteen or twenty guards, worn out with fatigue, with nothing but the clothes upon their backs, and in the plight of miserable fugitives. Ordoner was left surrounded in a house near the field of battle, and was supposed to be capitulating. The defeat is acknowledged to have been complete ; so much so, that scarcely two hundred men have escaped, and these, two and three at a time, have come in, half starved and almost exhausted, and owe their escape to the fleetness of their horses. The battle

was on the fifth, and the General arrived in Talcahuano on the 13th of this month. Thus this army, of more than five thousand men, a part of whom were veterans from Europe, and well appointed, was, in the space of three hours, so completely cut to pieces, that not three hundred stragglers have escaped. Both armies, it is said, fought with desperation; very little quarter being expected on either side. It is not yet known whether Ordoner is prisoner, or dead. I have seen Osorio repeatedly since his return; he puts on a good face, and seems to bear his reverses with fortitude. He is son-in-law to the Viceroy of Lima, and was married but a few weeks before he took command of the expedition. Both the Beaver and Canton are preparing to take him, and his suite, to Lima.

It is now ten days since the arrival of those that escaped from the battle near Maypu, yet nothing is seen or heard of the Patriots, from which we infer, that they too, must have suffered severely.

We have been all ordered to leave the brig, and ship, and they are both loading for Lima.

In the meantime, Talcahuano presents a scene of misery and distress, such as I have never before witnessed.

The full extent of the royal losses is acknowledged; the impossibility of successful defence is evident to every eye. The forces of the Patriots recruited, their cavalry unquestionably good, and they irritated at the resistance and impediments they have always met with in Talcahuano.

Besides what the inhabitants of this place have to fear from the Patriots, they are now completely overrun with Royalists, who flock in from every part of the province as to the last place of refuge. Every house, room, and shed is crowded; and hundreds of men and *women*, who have been used to ease and comfort, are now obliged to pass both day and night in the open streets; and this too in the first month of winter, when the northerly winds with rain, are commencing. In truth, they are very wretched, and every old Spaniard in the kingdom, seems to tremble with apprehension, that the righteous vengeance of Hea-

ven is about to fall, like a thunderbolt, upon his head.

Gualqui, May 1818.

For four or five days, after we were ordered to leave the brig, the captain, supercargo and myself, occupied a small, dirty room, filled with rats and fleas, and surrounded by officers and soldiers. At this time, our friend Don Antonio Sosa, offered us a residence at his *Estancia* or country house, about forty miles from the port; together with his horses, and every convenience that the place would afford. The captain and supercargo, could not yet leave their interests in the port; but I prepared immediately for the journey, and am now in the interior of the province, and in company with a pleasant family of Talcahuano, who have retired here, for security, until public affairs should be settled. The house is large, and of similar construction with those of Concepcion, though a considerable part of it is now taken up with wine vats, it being the season of vintage.

The road from Concepcion here, for three quarters of the distance, is extreme-

ly beautiful ; it winds along the river Bío-bío, on your right, and on your left is a continuous range of mountains, abrupt, and almost perpendicular ; sons of the Andes, and worthy of their sire. The river, bordered with beautiful shrubbery, opens to you, almost every minute, and the mountains recede a little, every mile or two, and leave a valley, sufficient for the site of a house, and land for the support of a family. In some of these, you may purchase bread and wine, and food for your horses. As you approach Gualqui, you ascend the mountains, and find the road narrow, steep and abrupt, and appearing at first view absolutely impassable.

May, 1818.

I have now been in Gualqui, more than a week, since when we have several times heard from the city and port, but as yet, nothing important has transpired. The ships are all in readiness to transport the officers and troops that have escaped, to Lima : but the Patriots do not yet appear, nor is there any information with regard to where they are. Preparations are making,

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as if to sustain another siege, in Talcahuano. The General has granted leave to all, who wish to depart for the interior.

It is ascertained that Ordóñez is prisoner in Santiago, and he is said to be treated with the respect that his valour and character entitles him to. How many were left to capitulate with him is not yet known.

May 8.

The Patriot army does not yet appear, and it is thought in Talcahuano, that they are celebrating their successes, in Santiago, and that they will not, at present, attempt any thing in this quarter. In the meantime, the General, Osorio, has sent orders, in every direction, this side the river Moulis, requiring every able bodied man, (excepting on those immediately engaged in the vintage) to repair forthwith to Talcahuano, for the defence of the place. Still however, the ships are kept in readiness to sail, at a moment's warning.

June, 1818.

Shortly after my last accounts from Talcahuano, and when our captain was prepar-

ing to sail in a whaleman for America, he, with the supercargo, received a message from the general, with a proposal that they should proceed with the brig to Lima, under American colours, and furnished with the documents relative to her seizure and condemnation, on condition that they should depart immediately; they were already on their passage, before news could be conveyed to me of their intended departure. So that I am now the only American in this part of Chili. The Canton, it is expected, will return here immediately, and the supercargo remain to await the issue of an appeal to the authorities in Lima. We conclude from this that Osorio has no fear of the immediate approach of the Patriot army.

Nothing of much importance has occurred to alter the state of affairs here. The Patriots have not appeared on this side the river Moulis, and are probably either awaiting the result of an embassy to Lima, or, that the wet season may pass, before they advance. In the mean time, they are constantly labouring to strengthen the fortifica-

tions of Talcahuano, and making every possible preparation for enduring another siege. But three or four hundred of the regular troops have escaped; these, with new recruits, whom they are very active in gathering, form the garrison there, at present. They are plentifully supplied with provisions of all sorts, since the whole province of Concepcion is open to them. The capture of Ordoner is very much deplored, he was extremely popular in the province.

What they call the *winter* in Chili, has now set in. The days are shorter, and about one quarter of the time it rains, with the wind from the north, but near the coast there is but little difference in the temperature of the air; where I now am, and as you approach the *Cordilleras*, a chain of the Andes, the winter is sometimes cold; so much so that we have found ice in the morning, half an inch thick; and near the mountains it frequently snows. In Chili, they know but three seasons, summer, winter and spring, which last commences the middle of August. There is not one in hundreds that knows that the seasons are com-

puted differently in any quarter of the globe. During the summer months it very rarely rains, but the strong southerly breezes so temper the air, that in Concepcion, they never suffer much from the heat of the sun.

The soil is almost uniformly of a reddish-brown colour, free from stones, rich, and never requires manuring. Wheat, in some places in the province, has produced one hundred and thirty fold. This, and wine, are their staple commodities, and but little attention is given to any thing else, though the soil that produces them might be brought to produce every thing. Peaches, apples and quinces are found in all directions, mixed with forest trees and shrubs, and are no doubt indigenous. I have seen peaches almost as large as an ostrich's egg, and very rich, chiefly clingstones. Of apples and quinces they make but little account, and seldom preserve them; they make but little cider, sweet and not good; there is nothing like a cider mill in the province, and in this quarter they extract the juice by beating the apples in a trough.

One of my first inquiries on arriving here

was, with regard to *mines*, and if there were any in the neighbourhood, and I was sorry to learn, that though there are many, only one is now worked, and that but partially. This is situated in Calicoa, a village about four leagues distant from Gualqui, and is of silver. We have been to see it, but I found nothing calculated to satisfy the curiosity, which the accounts of the richness of the mines of Chili had raised. A large hole, on the side of the mountain, with heaps of blackish grey stones around it, was all that met the eye; the works for extracting the metal were in another quarter, to which the ore is transported on mules. But six or eight *peons*, as labourers are called here, were at work, the rest having concealed themselves or been drafted as soldiers. A few shovels, crow-bars, pick-axes and drills, of wretched workmanship, formed the whole apparatus of the establishment.

The mining interest throughout the province, seems to be not only suspended, but to be essentially injured, as I am told it is considered here as almost impossible to clear a mine that has been long neglected,

as they have no machinery, not even pumps for that purpose. This forced neglect of the mines is the subject of general lamentation, and is viewed somewhat in the same light, as a drought sufficient to produce famine and pestilence, would be in other countries; in fact, they glory as much in their mines now, and their affections seem to cling to them as closely, as did those of the Spaniards three hundred years ago. Most of the mines that were worked in the province were in the hands of wealthy royalists; the families of these have generally escaped to Lima, to avoid the confusion and perils of civil warfare.

A few nights since, the major-domo or steward of the estancia, gave a rustick entertainment or *fandango*, in his rooms adjoining; his friends and neighbours were all collected and treated with music and dancing, wine and supper, and the whole night passed in mirth and festivity. The occasion of this entertainment, was the death of his only child, an infant, whose corpse was all the while exposed in the most conspicuous part of the room.

I once witnessed the same ceremony in the house of a very respectable family of Concepcion. I entered the room without having been advised of the reason or nature of the entertainment; the most conspicuous object was a figure, highly decorated with flowers and ribbons, and seated upon a shelf, over the table, and with a number of lights burning before it, and to which those who were not engaged in the dance, would often advert. I took it for granted that this was the image of some patron saint, whose festival the family were celebrating; judge then of the indescribable horror and disgust I felt, when on approaching to examine it, I found that this image had *really* once been a living child. I am told the *mother* does not always join the crowd, but sometimes sits apart and weeps; and I trust, for the honour of our nature, that it is so. 'Tis bad enough that such an incident should be made the occasion of mirth and festivity among relations and friends. Upon the death of an adult, there are the same shows of grief and mourning as with us, though the ceremonies attending the inter-

ment are widely different. This *celebration* is kept up only on the death of children under seven years of age. The reason they give for it has more of philosophy than feeling in it. "El Angelito" the little angel, "has died in innocence, and gone to Heaven; we ought then to rejoice, and not to weep."

The season of vintage has just passed, and wine is transporting from all directions to the city and port. Almost all their wine is of the *purple* grape; the white requires more attention, and is rarely cultivated in any great quantity. A vineyard, with good care, trimming it every season, will yield for a hundred years. They are planted on the sides of high hills, where the sun has most power, and produce very abundantly. The wine is dark coloured, strong, and generally good flavoured. It is sent to market new, disposed of and consumed, and you very rarely meet with it either clarified or of many years age. With the same attention that is paid to wine in other countries, there is no doubt that it might be brought to equal what they produce.

The wine is sent to market in the skins of different small animals, upon mules; and is preserved in large earthen jars, some of which will contain two or three *pipes*.

The price of pure wine in the country is about twenty cents the gallon. The method of making it, is, for aught I know, the same as in other countries (having never seen a vineyard before.) A large vat, made of bullock's skins, and supported by posts, is covered at top, by reeds, attached to each other, laterally, with interstices of nearly the width of a grape; upon these, the grapes are mashed, or kneaded, till they separate from the branch, and fall broken, within.

They are left about a fortnight to ferment, being occasionally trodden down by the feet of half a dozen peons, who jump into the vat, almost naked; after which the wine is drawn off, and sweetened with a kind of molasses, made likewise of the grapes. Of the skins and parts of grapes which remain, is made the Brandy, or *Aguadiante* of the country, by the common process of distillation, and the product of a

vineyard is about twenty gallons of wine to one of aguadiente; this is strong, and something between Spanish brandy and New-England rum; this too is transported in *skins*, indeed skins here supply the place of almost all the improvements in husbandry of older countries. In the country, almost all the articles of domestic use are composed of skins, which serve them *without curing*, for a great part of their clothing, for shoes, ropes, twine, thread, bags, barrels, bottles, &c. &c.

The *vintage* is scarcely over, before the time of planting and sowing commences; and the peasantry in all directions, are now engaged in this. They plough and harrow their wheat fields as with us; but the soil, giving but little resistance, they do not need so strong and finished ploughs as we use; they are composed of two small sticks of timber, the one transfixed in the other at an angle of forty-five degrees, simple and clumsy; and in a respectable estancia, fifty, and sometimes an hundred, are in operation on the same day. Their mode of yoking is different from ours; in that, all the force

is brought to bear upon the roots of the horns, without the circular yoke; their breasts and shoulders being left free and unconfined. Their carts are of wretched construction, the wheels thick, clumsy, and generally *solid*, and not more than three or four feet in diameter. I have seen no article of husbandry in which they are so palpably deficient as in these.

Their *cattle* are remarkably fine; large, strong, well formed, and of beautiful skins; in ordinary times, a superb pair of oxen may be purchased for ten or fifteen dollars, and a good cow for four; yet butter and cheese are not so plenty as one would imagine from the number and extent of their herds. Butter is dearer than in most parts of the United States. They seldom or never kill their calves, and *veal* is a meat not known in the province. Their markets are dirty, and poorly supplied, except with fruit and vegetables. Oranges and lemons are not very abundant in this neighbourhood; though in almost every garden you find two or three trees. The usual method of *slaughtering*, in Talcahuano, and in the villages, is

to cut the throat of a bullock in the open street, and cut it up in pieces, as the neighbours pass and purchase.

The *horses* are not inferior to the other animals, though in this part of the kingdom, those of the best order are becoming scarce. The Patriots, when they retired to Santiago, searched for, and took with them, the finest that could be found. Osorio's army from Lima, were without horses, and were supplied with what the Patriots had left, so that few of the first order remain: still, however, you meet with many of what we should call very fine horses, well formed, handsome, fleet, and sure. Their usual gait is not the *trot*, but either a sort of pace or rack, or gallop. All are expert in managing a horse, men, women and boys; and a man is not considered a good horseman, who cannot on a canter, pick up a handkerchief from the ground without slackening his pace. Their horses are never shod; and I do not remember to have seen one stumble.

The peasants are extremely expert in their method of catching and confining their

horses and mules, with a cord of hide forty or fifty feet in length, with a noose at one end; this, they throw at a distance of twenty or thirty feet, and scarcely ever fail to encircle the horse's neck with the noose. This is a favourite amusement with the *boys*, who begin to manage their *Laso*, as it is called, almost as soon as they can run alone.

I do not remember to have seen but one *boy's play*, as yet, that was new to me.—Two boys, at the distance of twelve or fifteen feet from each other, and each supplied with two large smooth stones, and many small ones, pelt each other, with these last, by the concussion of the former, and generally hit their aim with great certainty.

This and the following two or three months, are likewise the season of diversion; the farmers, planters and *country gentlemen*, are every where exchanging visits, not of an hour or a day, but of weeks, and it makes no difference, in what numbers, they arrive at any friend's *estancia*; thirty can be as conveniently accommodated, as

three; there is *never* a lack of provisions, and their beds, both rich and poor, they always take with them; these consist of some eight or ten rugs, and pillions of skins, (sometimes beautifully coloured,) which form the furniture of their horses. Their saddles are of different construction from ours; or are rather only the *frames* of ours, but rendered easy for the horse, by the great number of these rugs and pillions, placed under and upon them. The *Havio*, as this furniture is called, is almost as heavy as the man who mounts it; and a *Chilano*, unsaddling his horse, will bring to your mind the grave-digger in Hamlet, preparing for his work. After supper, each one spreads his bed, with the saddle for a pillow, and ten or fifteen, and often more, are thus *handsomely* accommodated in the Sala. There is not a house, and scarcely a *hut*, that is not furnished with its guitar, and with some one of the family, who can sing as well as play.

In the *city*, they sometimes dance country dances, minuets and *reels*; but the most common dance, both there and in the coun-

try, is the *Fandango*. This is a sort of pantomime courtship, between one or two couple, with little other change, than approaching and suddenly receding, and dancing round each other, with little variety in the *step*, which is no more than beating the floor, in measure, and often accompanied with not the most delicate gestures and motions. In the parties, which are constantly given and received in the villages and *estancias* in the province, this dance forms almost the only amusement, and they are universally accomplished in it.

As to the state of refinement, and delicacy of sentiment among them, it seems to me, almost impossible to write, without betraying a want of each in one's self. The women have the reputation of being ardent, faithful, and devoted; and they probably deserve it; but the blush of modesty, is, I very much suspect, an expression unknown among them. They have nothing of that reserve in conversation or carriage, which I have always thought was instinctive in female character. I have heard a most beautiful woman, in relating an incident that had

afforded her much diversion, declare, that on seeing it, she laughed, and laughed, till she thought *que hubiera meado*. There is nothing of *neatness*, and hardly of cleanliness among them. In the town, it was matter of general surprise and conversation, that we, on board ship, washed our faces, and even our heads, in cold water, every morning. Among them, there is not one in a thousand, whose face is well washed, or whose hair is well combed, (to speak within bounds,) once in a month. I have known a young lady to call to another to stop, until she rid her of a *little animal* that was creeping on her shawl. And when walking with the wife of an officer of rank, in Concepcion, I have seen her employ the fingers of one hand, to clear her head, while in the other, she held a nicely folded cambric handkerchief. But though the women seldom wash their *faces*, they are forever washing their apparel, and change their garments often enough; but their houses are so intolerably dirty, that the white gown of noon day, can scarcely be distinguished as white, in the evening.

As in most warm climates, they are forever talking of *Love*, and are universally and passionately fond of *music*; but in Chili, Venus walks alone, and is never accompanied by Psyché, and their music is the music of mirth, and never that of sentiment.

A mother of fifteen never thinks of retiring to give food to her infant, nor is in great haste to replace her shawl, if it should fall aside; nor matters it much whether in company with strangers, or with her early companions and acquaintance; many times at Talcahuano, mothers and daughters, together or apart, have gazed at, and complimented us upon our agility in *swimming* and sporting in the water; there is indeed a light and meretricious air about the best of them, and in their intercourse with the other sex, they admit of liberties, and familiarities of conversation, that with us would be considered indelicacies. It seems as if the better orders, had always in mind the French motto, "*Honi soit que mal y pense.*" As for the common people, they have nothing like *cleanliness* about them; the cook, in all parts, will wipe the sweat

from her brow, and the grease from her hands with the same mantle that encircles her breast, and the *poncho* of the peasant serves, at the same time for his handkerchief and towel, by day, and to warm and cover him by night; the *poncho* is in the form of a blanket, with a hole in the centre, through which the head passes, and it falls, not ungracefully upon the shoulders, and covers almost the whole body; they are worn universally in the province, and those of the wealthy are made of the richest materials and are beautifully coloured and embroidered.

The above instances I have not selected, as those fixed in my memory, by their rarity, as this would be a most ungenerous way of representing the manners or customs of any community; I could fill pages with incidents that have fallen under my observation, during the year past, which perfectly convince me of the entire absence in this country of every thing like that "ingenuous elegance of soul," which is the basis of modern refinement.

There is, to be sure, a *native* delicacy of

sentiment, which no circumstances can completely smother, which is to be met with every where, and which may be said to be common to *mind*. But at the same time that this is the sweetest, and most fragrant, it is the tenderest and most delicate of all possible flowers. The warmth of wealth and luxury, and the frosts of poverty and neglect are alike fatal to it. In the mass of mankind it springs up with the morning dew, and it expires with it. Among the *children* of this country, (many of whom are extremely beautiful), I have often observed the blush of ingenuousness, the germ of refinement. But this cannot subsist upon itself; and here, there is nothing to nourish it; good humour and familiarity are the characteristics of their social intercourse. A Chileno *lover* reserves all his sighs for his *Confessor*, none for his mistress; he is never obliged to adore at a distance, to approach by slow and imperceptible degrees, and after years of servitude to think himself well repaid, if at last, he obtains “Le premier baiser de l’amour.” There is nothing here of that reserve, and timid emotion, in the

presence of "lovely woman," which forms the charm of refined society in modern times.

Children of all ages are permitted to be present at all sorts of conversations; and very ordinarily subjects of conversation are such, as with us, one would suffer much, before they would be confided to a family physician.

A girl of twelve years, is able to discuss the merits of a midwife, and is often married and needs one before she is fourteen. She can, of course, have but little time for the cultivation of taste or refinement, however nature may have endowed her.

Stolen matches are not uncommon, and I have heard much of the skill and intrepidity of youthful lovers, in obtaining the object of their wishes, in opposition to relatives. The head of the family in which I have resided for some time is an instance, though the beauty and good qualities of his wife soon brought about a reconciliation. He is not yet twenty-one; was married at fourteen, and has had five children; the oldest and youngest of whom are living. A friend

in Concepcion, Dr. Clemente Paris, an officer in the civil government, (and at whose house we have been treated with much hospitality), has often repeated to me the names of twenty-six of his children, still living. Yet the population of the country is not so great as such instances of fecundity would lead one to imagine. In all the Spanish parts of Chili they do not yet reckon two millions. Of the population of the interior in possession of the Indians, little more is known now, than at the time they first repulsed the Spaniards in their attempts to subjugate them.

In Spanish Chili you find every variety of complexion, from the dull Indian copper colour, to the pure red and white of the Biscayan. The chief family pride of the descendants of Old Spaniards has consisted in the preservation of the skin untainted with Indian blood. This has rarely been long effected in any family. However they may resemble their own *Lions* in other respects, in point of *breed* they very much resemble the *sheep* of the United States, at the present period. There are now about

as many original Spaniards in Chili, as there are full blooded merino sheep of Spain, in the United States; but half, quarter, three quarters, and five-sixth blooded, you meet in all directions and of all conditions.

The revolution, which according to all appearance, is soon to be crowned with complete success, has been not a little destructive to the pride of Spanish origin. "Free Americans, and faithful Republicans," has been the watch-word, that has resounded through most parts of Chili for three or four years past. Yet so long as there are Indians in their neighbourhood, a white skin will always be a sort of title to distinction. Many of the women of the half-breed are very beautiful, with large sparkling, black eyes, and would pass with us as *brunettes* of the first order.

July, 1818.

Another month has passed away without any perceptible change in the affairs of Chili. The whole province of Concepcion, (this side Talca and the river Moulis) remains in the undisturbed possession of the king; while all *Chili* (as the lower coun-

tries, by way of distinction, are here called) are in possession of the patriots. *They* have as yet made no advance. In the mean time, the royalists are indefatigable in their labours to strengthen the fortifications of Talcahuano, and are erecting forts on the island of Queriquina, for the protection of the port and harbour from without. The frigate *Esmeralda*, and two sloops of war, remain in the bay. This frigate returned a few weeks since, from her station off Valparaiso, where she was attacked by the patriots, in a large English Indiaman, filled (as the officers of the frigate say) with English and American officers and seamen. They got possession of her upper deck, by boarding, and held it for half an hour, but were at last driven overboard; with what respective loss, it is impossible here at present, to ascertain. The *Venganza*, with two or three corvettes remain cruising off that port.

The General of the Royalists, Don Francisco Sanchez, remains where he has been most of the time, since the battle of Maipu, at the Floridas, fifteen leagues from Con-

ception, with one or two hundred regular troops, and a considerable body of Indians, whom he is still collecting. Reports as to their number vary from one to ten thousand. All the neighbouring tribes are said to be devoted to the king's interest. They are not believed to be powerful allies, and are said to have degenerated greatly from their brave ancestors, the old Auracani-ans. Troops are constantly passing from thence to the city and port, and returning; and are supported "pro rata," that is, the man in authority in every village, sends two or three soldiers to the different estancias in his neighbourhood, with orders to take, in the name of the king, in proportion as they find.

The mode of *recruiting*, now in operation throughout the province, is similar to the British system of impressment. Soldiers are searching in every direction, and wherever they meet an *animal* able to bear arms, he is sent with an escort to Talcahuano.

Exclusive of commercial duties, and a sort of direct tax upon the purchase or

alienation of landed property, they have no regular or legally defined imposts. Whenever the public service requires it, contributions are levied upon people of all orders, in proportion as they can bear; all this in the name of the king, and as often and in such manner, the officers of the king shall judge expedient. In some instances, resembling a forced loan; they give receipts in the name of the king, but rarely, and generally the loss of property as well as limbs, is repaid as with the old soldier in *Gil Blas*, by the honour of having served the king. In a state of affairs so critical as at present, it is almost impossible to form an opinion with regard to public sentiment, but my present impression is, that the people, in spite of all their hardships and impositions, are really inclined to the cause of the king.

The weather, in the country, for the last two months, (of winter) has resembled our April; a mild April. It has rained, with a warm northerly wind, nearly a third part of the time; but those days, when the sun has appeared, have been warm and genial as any day in May, with us. The major-

domos and peasants are busy in their fields ; beans, peas, and garden vegetables are up and flourishing, and wheat is sowing in abundance ; they have little more to do than to scatter it upon the ground, in order to be insured an abundant increase.

The estancia in which I am, may be taken as a pretty fair sample of the better order of country houses, in this part of the province. The house is about eighty feet in length by twenty-five in breadth, with a broad corridor, and three *quartos*, as they are called, little apartments attached to the house, which serve for sleeping rooms. The walls are of sun burnt brick, three feet in thickness, and plastered within and without ; two large doors opposite each other, and one small window ; the roof thatched with reeds, and covered with *takas*, made of clay, burned, in form semi-cylindrical, and fixed upon the roof with mortar, lapping over each other, in rows, alternately concave and convex, and thus form spouts for the water to descend. The floor is the earth, and this rough and uneven. There are few houses that are wa-

~~ter-proof~~, and in winter, they are extremely damp and uncomfortable. They are generally about twelve feet in height, and with no other ceiling than the roof. Near the window is a raised platform, about twenty feet long and six broad, covered with a Turkey carpet, or rugs that resemble one; and on this, the women, when not actively engaged, always sit, in the manner of tailors with us. Almost every house is furnished with a few chairs, but I do not remember to have seen a woman seated in one, either in the city or country.

July 25th, 1818.

The present season, is the worst in the year for pasture; and the horses are lean and gaunt. They always calculate upon the *Spring*, which commences next month, for fattening and restoring them; they have no *barns*, make no hay, but suffer their luxuriant fields of grass to ripe and rot, without thinking it worth the trouble of gathering. They eke out the lean pasture of the winter months, (or rather autumn months) with the dry stems of wheat, mixed with grain.

I have seen a number of horses in the country, with their *ears* cropt, seared and closed, so as completely to deafen them; what are the advantages of this practice, I have not ascertained. The long sweeping tail is always preserved. A fine bay horse, given me by Don Antonio Sosa, has now been missing for more than a month, and has no doubt been taken by the soldiers, *pro rata*, for some time, in this part of the province.

I was, last week, at one of the *regular* entertainments called *Rifas*, given in all directions, at this season; they are thus conducted—the major-domo, or owner of an estancia, gives a week's notice to the neighbourhood, that on such a day, he shall *kill a hog*, and keep open doors; on the evening of the day, men and women, old and young, flock to the house from all quarters, The entertainment commences with music of the guitar and singing; then follows the fandango, in one part of the house, while three or four circles of men, in another, are engaged in a game of cards, somewhat re-

sembling our Loo. About midnight supper is served up, of various and savoury dishes, pork being the most conspicuous; wine, punch, and other liquors, are kept in readiness, and of these, each one pays for what he calls for; this is often kept up for two or three days and nights, with no more sleep, than is requisite to refresh them, and commence again. This sort of festival, is, I believe, peculiar to the country and small villages.

In all their entertainments, there is a curious mixture of frankness and courtesy, familiarity, and formal politeness. With regard to the inhabitants of the city, and the most wealthy part of the community, probably much allowance should now be made, having associated with them, only in a year of turbulence and confusion, such as always accompanies civil war; either besieged or besieging, flying or pursuing; now exulting at some news of success, and now, dejected by reports of defeat. In the interior, political changes have but little effect upon the common routine of life, and the manners and customs of the inhabitants.

Here, what I have said of their complexions and breed, will equally apply to their habits and manners. As the Spaniards and Indians have mutually intermixed, they have mutually adopted the customs of each other; and now, in the same family, or neighbourhood, you find the oddest compound of European refinement, and Indian barbarity; you seem to meet about half way, descending from the one, and rising and improving upon the other.

One of the most curious subjects of observation, is the different degree of estimation, in which different materials and productions are held, in one country and another, in proportion to their relative scarcity or abundance. Here, to light her fire in the morning, the cook will gather a bundle of rods, some of which a Bond street beau would select, to grace his person in a morning lounge. To sweep her damp and filthy floor, the chambermaid will bind together, branches of fresh and fragrant myrtle, which, with us, would be dispersed to grace an hundred lovely bosoms in a ball room.

Without the house, you may find a pig's

pen constructed of the finest grained mahogany (or some wood resembling it) rough enough to be sure, and within, the walls of your bed room composed of half burned bricks and mud. At night, you will lay your head upon a pillow covered with cambrick or fine linen, nicely wrought and bordered; your bedstead at the same time will consist of rough planks, and sticks of unhewn timber; and under it, you will find a vessel of polished silver. At table, your meats will be served up in massy plate, and the plate spread upon a cloth, which you would suppose, had been used to wipe and cleanse it, for the month past.

Even in the city, though they have large gardens, they have few, or no *street gates*, but one common passage way into their yards and gardens, for man and beast. To secure your horse in the yard, he must be led through the sala or hall, and I have an hundred times known them to leave more marks than those of their feet, behind them. Such little incidents may produce a laugh, but never raise a blush.

Upon a small scale, they are all *merchants*,

since they are constantly bartering and bargaining. There is no such thing as a *fixture* either about their houses or their persons; there is *nothing* which they purchase, or possess, which they are not at any moment, ready to dispose of, if, by so doing, they can *turn a penny*. In the country, they are constantly sending from one estancia to another, to purchase three pence or four pence worth of something which the one has, and the other needs. In the *city*, the houses, almost without exception, have a small shop attached to them, in which the owner, no matter of what rank and standing in the community, offers for sale, from time to time, such commodities as he happens to be possessed of.

In this land, which may be said to be bedded upon gold and silver, *money* is comparatively scarce, and its influence, infinitely more irresistible than in our own country; not at present only, but, as it appears to me, generally. The average price of labour has not varied with the times; an able bodied man could always, and can now, be hired, for twelve and a half cents a day,

if found, and for twenty cents, when he *finds* himself. In fact, the smallest piece of silver, that is coined, goes farther, and is husbanded with greater care, here, than the largest that is coined does among us. When an industrious countryman has converted the produce of his farm into specie, he returns from the city with his hundred or two of dollars, and blesses his stars, that he lives in a land of gold and silver.

They have none of the facilities of commerce, or *trade* ; no banking institutions of any sort, nor paper currency ; each one keeps his own strong box, and he is the greatest man, whose box is the heaviest. And though the medium of trade is specie only, there is more of this in the town of Boston, than in the province of Concepcion, so far as I can judge from the present state of things, and from information of what has past. If you tell them, here, of untitled individuals in Boston, whose fortunes amount to millions, of private houses, that have cost forty, fifty, and some an hundred thousand dollars, they will exclaim, “ what a rich and happy country ; ” but

should you happen to mention, that in this country, there are no mines of gold or silver, they would ever afterwards listen to you with incredulity. They think it as impossible that there should be a truly rich man, in a country where there are no precious minerals, as that there should be a real christian in a community that denies the authority of the Pope.

They are completely and entirely ignorant with regard to the productions, wealth, population, and relative situation of every country but their own; even of Old Spain. Foreign commerce has always been a monopoly of the king, and by him farmed out to a few individuals; the community, at large, being excluded from all participation, have of course, felt but little interest in it. In exchange for their wheat, copper, and specie, they receive from Lima, tobacco and sugar, with a meagre supply of European and India goods; and they neither know or care, whether these be the productions and manufactures of Lima, or are brought from afar. They cannot supply this lack of practical information with

books, for they have none. Beyond reading and writing (badly) and the five fundamental rules of arithmetic, there is nothing like education or literature among them, and even these are considered rather as accomplishments, than essentials. For more than six months past, I have searched both in the city and country, for a Spanish dictionary and grammar, without being able to find one, or to learn where one might be found. I think I may venture to say, that there is not a native of the province, whose library consists of more than some half dozen primers and prayer books, together with a volume or two of homilies and one or two more of surgery and medicine. *Free foreign intercourse* is one of the chief objects with the Patriots, and should the revolution succeed, how wide a field of improvement is opening upon the nation!

August, 1818.

The month of August is the most unpleasant of their winter months, but after the middle of it, they generally consider the *spring* as having commenced. The first ten days of the month were tempestuous,

with high northerly winds and constant rain. The weather is now settled, and this day, August 12th, is like the finest of ours in June. The rains henceforth gradually lessen in duration, till, in the latter part of September they become rare.

The vineyards are now trimming and putting in order, and the wheat and garden vegetables are high out of ground, and promise abundantly. There is but little variation in their years, one with another, and their crops can always be calculated upon with certainty; they never suffer from drought, and their spring rains are never so abundant as to drown the seed in the earth. Their evergreens are of course beautiful at all seasons, and wild flowers of every variety are now springing up in all directions.

To balance all this fertility and beauty of soil and climate, (say our geographers) they are subject to the most dreadful of all natural phenomena, *earthquakes*. It is no doubt true, that the shocks are more frequent than in most parts of Europe or North America; and it is true that the inhabitants

live in constant and superstitious dread of them. Yet, after often inquiring of the oldest individuals I have met, I cannot find one who can recollect a *death*, caused by an earthquake. This general dread of them probably proceeds from the removal of the capital of the province to its present site, in consequence of the inundation, and destruction of many of the houses of the old city in the *great earthquake*, some eighty or ninety years ago. For the year past there has been but one very perceptible shock in Concepcion; this was a few evenings since; some eight or ten were at supper in the estancia, when suddenly they all started up and rushed out of doors, overturning every thing that might be in their way, and shrieking "*misericordia, misericordia.*" The shock continued but for an instant, and was lighter than one which was felt in Massachusetts a few days before we sailed, and was the talk of a moment. I am told however, that I can form no idea of the effect of an earthquake in Chili, as the year past has been remarkably and providentially exempt from this calamity.

With all the variety of complexions that you meet in this province, there seems to me to be no difference in language, and so far as I can judge, there is no *vulgar idiom* among the lower classes. With us, you may, generally speaking, judge of a man's standing, and the advantages of education he has enjoyed, by the style of his phraseology ; but here the Bishop and the rustic, the senora and her maid servant express ideas and sensations, wishes and wants in the same words and phrases ; the half naked *Guacho* will express his pleasure at any good, or sorrow at any ill that may have befallen you, in words which if literally translated into our language, would be considered in an unlettered man as affectation, and expose him to ridicule. Their language is derived directly from the *Latin*, is in fact little else than corrupted Latin. In English, it strikes me that the difference in the phraseology of the well and ill bred consists in a good measure in this, that the one make use of many and the other of few or no words of classic derivation.

There is too, a very great degree of fa-

miliarity between the different grades of society. The servants, after the work of the day is over, are generally permitted to sit in the same room with the family, and as they almost all can either dance or sing, or have some *rare gift* about them, they are frequently called upon to amuse visitors in an evening. In many families you meet with a young half-Indian boy, who is taught mountebank tricks and imitations, and acts somewhat such a part as the *fools* used to do, who were maintained in the families of princes, in the middle ages. In the choice of the companion of an hour, there does not seem to me to be much regard paid to character, even among the females; and the richest Senor among them, will chat as familiarly with his groom as with his brother. Hence, a sort of independence, and ease of carriage and conversation pervades all clases, and hence, you never meet with any of that awkwardness and bashful timidity which characterize the peasants and lower orders with us, in the presence of superiors.

One of their favourite amusements is

story telling; and in this they display strength of memory and ease of elocution, that has often astonished me. Whenever half a dozen friends meet in an evening, or a family are seated after supper, some one among them "takes up the tale," and without the least hesitation or interruption goes on with his story of a full hour, and sometimes two, with the same system and rapidity as if he was reading from a book. They are generally stories of captive princesses and enchanted knights, and as far as I can recollect the *Arabian Nights*, are taken from them, and handed down orally from father to son, among high and low, rich and poor. They have no other libraries than their memories, and these are remarkably retentive. A youth will often be sent from one city to another, charged with specie, and an hundred different commissions without a single memorandum in writing, yet will be sure to execute them all with accuracy and fidelity. You never hear a Chileno say, "*I forgot it.*"

In common with almost all the rest of mankind, they are firmly attached to their

country and to their manners and customs. They think their land the *golden land* in all respects; and all other regions compared to it, as the baser metals; and in this I am inclined to agree with them; for surely, in beauty and salubrity of climate, fertility of soil, in scenery and variety of productions, there is no region on earth can excel it. Their mountains are sublime and picturesque beyond description, their plains are fertile and extensive, their rivers are deep, wide and penetrating, their animals are beautiful and noble; all but their sovereign, man, who, regardless of external beauties and bounties, is forever searching and burying himself in the bowels of the earth.

With regard to their modes of life, I doubt whether they have undergone any material change for the last three centuries. They have gone on increasing but not improving. Indeed how could they improve? If there be ever an incipient taste for literature and information, it is always stifled in the bud, because they have no *press*, nor books. They never venture

from *home*. Except some five or six women, who have married Spanish officers here, and gone with their husbands to Spain, I can find nobody who knows of any native of the country, who has ever attempted to visit any other quarter of the globe; and except too, a few common sailors, who may have found their way to the Philippines and back.

Here, a youth (of the better sort) as soon as he is somewhat accomplished in writing and arithmetic, and is dismissed from the school, flies with his mistress to the *altar*; and before he has time to look around him as a *man*, finds himself a *father*; he then sits down, content in the sphere where chance has placed him, and instead of troubling his head with inquiries into the manners or customs of other nations, seldom knows or cares whether there be any other than his own in existence. Spanish soldiers and adventurers have been the only foreigners that have ever been admitted among them, till of late years they have been occasionally favoured with the society of a few English and American

whalemen, none of whom had *time* to contribute much to their improvement. Hence, they are totally ignorant of all the modern improvements in domestic economy. The furniture of their houses is rough, clumsy, incommodious and inelegant, even among the *elect* of the land. In their kitchens, and kitchen utensils, they are miserably deficient ; they have neither fire places, chimneys, shovels, tongs, cranes, jacks nor *Rumfords*. In fact nothing of what is considered with us as absolutely essential to good cooking, and it is no light proof of their ingenuity, that in spite of all this, they cook well, both in town and country, and have a great variety of very savoury dishes.

Their *houses*, a sample of which I have given above, might, with very little difficulty be made *literally*, their *castles*, since you have only to roll in a few cannon, perforate the walls here and there, and barricade the doors, to constitute a very respectable and defensible fortress ; and in doing this, you would have no steps to ascend, no floors that would sink under you, nor any partition walls to impede you.

They are but little better than gloomy prisons ; and in leisure hours, the people are generally seated under the piazza, or a garden fruit tree ; the guitar always at hand, and they always ready to join in music and chat with any friend that may be passing. This however applies to the houses in general ; in the city there are many that may be called elegant ; the ceilings within of smooth white plaister, with borders richly gilded, the grates of the windows gilded and ornamented, but never glazed, and all in the same gloomy style of architecture.

They have nothing that corresponds with the pleasures of the social fire side among us ; have no idea of that independent, superadded and sweetest mode of existence which an English or American family enjoys *at home*, and most when *not at home*, to all the world besides. In their dances and parties, where many meet, their diversions and manners are not more to the taste of an accomplished European or American. You find enough of life, gaiety, frankness and courtesy, but unmixed and unchastened

by delicacy, propriety, regard to dress, ceremony or polite conversation.

Though antiquity seems to be against the position, there are certainly many modern instances to prove that in proportion as the gifts of nature are denied, the attainments of art have advanced. The useful and essential arts are cultivated in proportion as they are useful and essential in any one community. Here nature has been so profuse in her bounties, that to secure a comfortable subsistence, there is but little need of foreign aid, and therefore the arts, though of course known and introduced among them, in their intercourse with Spain, have rather drooped than flourished. They have no mechanic associations among them, no regular terms of apprenticeship, none of the rules of probation that are so requisite to secure success to a mechanic among us ; no such thing as hereditary trades, or even a trade *for life*. *Semper* "sutor ultra crepidam ;" the cobbler when he is tired of his bench, shoulders his musket, and turns soldier for a while. The carpenter, every year or two, will lay aside his axe, and assume the yardstick ; and the mason will

suffer his own house to fall to ruin, while he is far away speculating in flocks and herds, and trading with the Indians. There is no lack of ingenuity among them, but it is seldom stimulated by necessity. There is none of that rivalry and emulation which is the soul of the mechanic arts. In order to effect any considerable object here with a mechanic, you must pay him and thank him too; and the head of a family will often treat his workmen to a supper and dance after the labours of the day are over. Many mechanics of course, come over from Spain; most of them soon sink into sloth, when they can maintain themselves with little exertion; others, by a few years of sober industry and application, are enabled to purchase lands, plant their vineyards and fields of wheat, and to give their children all the advantages of education that the country affords; and the descendants of such are, as far as I can judge, the most wealthy and respectable class of society in Chili.

A year has now elapsed since we arrived in the province of Concepcion. A year in which I have endured and witness-

ed more of hardships and misery, than in all the rest of my life. For the two or three first months of this year, we were confined to the ship with such companions as I have before described. With a most delightful and inviting landscape constantly before our eyes, but forbidden to approach it; when at last, we were permitted to go on shore, we were of course confined to the territories of the king, which consisted but of a narrow promontory, at the foot of which was the port of Talcahuano, the last refuge of the royalists. Here we were permitted to participate for several months in all the wants and privations of a strict and rigorous siege; to ascend the heights with them, and view the enemy's cavalry and listen to the bombs that burst over our heads before they fell into the town. With all this to amuse us, we made shift to pass the time, till the siege was raised, when we were permitted, with some restrictions, to visit the city, and ride into the country. I shall never forget my emotions on the day I first visited Concepcion, immediately after the patriots had retired, and before

the royalists had removed from Talcahuano, or descended from the mountains, where many of them were concealed during the siege. A scene of gloomy desolation, nothing like which, I had ever witnessed before; a few of the inhabitants and a number of monks and friars had returned, and the churches of the city were all open. The clergy were engaged in administering consolation to the infirm and aged, who seemed like so many remaining patriarchs, weeping and deploring the destruction of all their race. A company of soldiers had taken their quarters in the palace, and in the great square in front of the cathedral, was posted here and there a single sentinel, who seemed like the guardian genius of silence and solitude. You might walk at noon day amidst all the marks of recent habitation, through streets a mile in length, and see no moving object but your own shadow, and hear no sound but that of your own footsteps. The scene was more awfully impressive than that of a city deserted by reason of a pestilence, since in almost every direction, your eye might rest upon a

pile of smoking ruins. It rather conveyed to me the idea I had formed of the effect of their own *earthquakes*; which spread such sudden horror and consternation as to compel the parent to fly for preservation from the dying shrieks of his child.

The dissolute and abandoned of both sexes were among the first to return, and *their* unhallowed mirth in some parts of the city, formed a mournful and disgusting contrast with the solemn stillness that reigned in others.

The face of things gradually changed, and the royalists from all quarters again took up their residence in the city; public confidence and security were completely restored by the arrival of Osorio, with his four thousand troops from Lima; and thus we continued for a month or two, sometimes in the city and sometimes in Talcahuano, the most pleasant part of the year, till about the middle of April, their general, with some fifteen or twenty haggard, worn-out fugitives, suddenly appeared among them, and announced the loss of the battle of the fifth, and the entire destruction of

his army. A scene of confusion now took place, worse than any thing we had experienced before. The patriots, irritated by resistance, and victorious, were expected to appear every moment at the gates of Talcahuano. The inhabitants of the city fled again to the port, and the wants and hardships of the former siege seemed about to be renewed, with additional aggravations, the danger more immediate, the hopes of succour less. In this state they have continued until the present time, and unmolested; the *patriots* (why, it is impossible to conjecture,) not having advanced; and in this state I left them for the country.

For the greatest part of this month, *public affairs* have borne the same aspect as in the month of July. Constant requisitions, contributions and impressments, on the part of the Royalists; and constant endeavours to escape, and avoid them, on the part of the peasants and villagers. Parties of soldiers have been ordered in every direction, to search for recruits and provisions, and as they approach, the young men generally fly to the mountains, with their horses and

cattle, and secrete themselves till the immediate danger has passed; still, however, scarcely a day passed, that numbers were not forced from their homes, in this neighbourhood, to garrison and work upon the fortifications of Talcahuano. Fortifications have been commenced too on the island of Queriquina, and had advanced and become somewhat respectable, when on the 10th of this month, the labourers and recruits, about two hundred in number, conspired and rose upon their officers. Their guard consisted of a company of Spanish soldiers, with its officers. The sergeant of this company was elected captain, and headed the workmen and recruits, and promised to lead them to the Patriots. After some resistance, in which eight or ten on each side were killed, they succeeded in their object, destroyed the fortifications of the island, in an hundredth part of the time they had been labouring to raise them; and after spiking, and throwing into the sea, all the cannon and ammunition which they could not take with them, embarked in the launches of the Esmeralda, which were on

the beach at the time, and directed their course to some point in possession of the Patriots. How they have ultimately succeeded, we have not yet learned.

August 25, 1818.

At last the answers to the despatches by the Canton, to Lima, have been received, and the result seems only to add to the complicated distresses of the Royalists and inhabitants of the province. We know nothing of their tenour, but from their effects. The fortifications of Talcahuano are destroyed; all the light artillery is embarked, the heavy destroyed; all the officers and troops, together with the principal Royalists, are to be conveyed to Lima, and ere this, have probably sailed. The great mass of the people of the province are left to the mercy of the victorious Patriots. What adds to their distress, and seems the climax of their misery, is, that just now, as the Royalists seem to be deserting their cause, their Indian allies are flocking to their aid. Some thousands are now on their way to the city and port; how they are to be employed, and how they can be dismissed with

security is a subject of fearful inquiry among all classes, and the apprehensions from them, should they be suddenly dismissed, are dreadful beyond any thing the people have yet felt.

September 20, 1818.

Thus commenced the month of September, and until the middle of this month, we, in the country, were every day receiving contradictory intelligence with regard to the state of things in the province, and it was not until this date, that we received information on which we could rely; the amount of which is as follows :—Osorio has embarked from Talcahuano with all the ships of war, and merchant ships, that were in the port, and has taken with him, about three hundred troops, chiefly Europeans, together with most of the families of the Royalists, who were compromised, and who could raise money enough to embark.

Previous to setting sail, he demolished the fortifications of Talcahuano; the cannon which he could not take with him, he spiked, disabled, and threw into the sea.

Between two and three hundred regular

troops are left behind, with Don Francisco Sanchez, who is now chief in command, in the province, *he* has, besides, some four or five hundred new recruits, and as many thousand Indians, who are awaiting his orders on the frontiers. The intentions of the government are now publicly made known; without making use of threats or force, all classes of citizens are invited and *advised*, to follow the authorities, with all the military force that remains in the province, to the frontier city of "*Los Angeles*," distant from Concepcion about fifty leagues, and near to the river Bisbio; and which is a sort of depot in their intercourse with the Indians. This is now, the rallying point for the Royalists; from whence, should they be obliged to escape, they have a road over the mountains to the port of Valdivia, which still remains for the king, and is said to be strongly fortified. Almost all the Royalists are preparing to take this rout. In the mean-time, in order to support these exigencies, the government has ordered a general contribution; every one that has ten horses, mules, or oxen, and so

in proportion, for whatever they possess. To these requisitions, there is nothing like organized opposition; though they know that the Patriots must soon have possession of the province, and though there are many in it, who are Patriots at heart; yet such is generally their infatuation in regard to royalty, that they will bear patiently, to see their children snatched from their arms, and their bread from their mouths, if done in the name of the king.

What has now spread consternation and dismay among the people at large, is the removal of the *nuns*. In the city of Concepcion, were four or five cloisters of friars, and one nunnery, containing about one hundred nuns. During the revolutionary changes for these six years past, the cloisters were converted to barracks for soldiers, by each party, as they respectively obtained possession of the city: but the *nuns* were never disturbed: whence, the people conceived for them a more than usual reverence; and when it was announced, a few days since, that they were to desert their sanctuary, the news spread like an electric shock, and

and occasioned more alarm than the earthquake that overturned their ancient capital. They have taken the direction to *Los Angelos*, and passed in open boats, within a league of us, yesterday; their voyage is of three days, on the river; they passed the first night in the open air, about half a league from us, and this morning proceeded on their voyage; the nuns in nine boats, followed by friars and clergy, in ten or fifteen more, and a guard of soldiers accompanying them, *pari pasu*, on each side of the river. Before leaving the city, they publicly announced to the people, that their removal ought not to be considered as an annunciation of divine vengeance upon the land, but that all the poor, who could not follow them, should remain, without distrust, in the power and protection of their heavenly father.

In the mean-time, during this month, and indeed, for many months past, the situation of the inhabitants of the province, has been miserable indeed. It is hard to distinguish which they fear most, the approach of the Patriots, or the Royalists, or the

Indians; one to seize on all they can find, by right of conquest, the other by authorized requisition, and the last by indiscriminate plunder, which when employed, they always consider their right.

In the estancia we are partaking of all these fears; have hidden in the earth, almost every thing that we considered valuable, and sleep with our pistols loaded and our swords at hand, though our fears are not so much from these *public* causes as from our situation in the midst of a population, accustomed for six years, to the turbulence of civil warfare, and with nothing but the name of authority to restrain them.

It is impossible for us to judge with any degree of confidence, of the ultimate intentions and views of the Royalists; their conversation is as usual, full of hopes and succour; of the promises and power of the king and of the certainty of final success. By their movements only, can we form any opinion with regard to the real state of things. They seem to be conscious that they have not sufficient force to maintain

their power, but they cannot consent to relinquish it altogether. They know that this kingdom has always been considered as one of the brightest jewels in the king's crown, though, like a jewel, it has heretofore served for ornament only. The Royalists have therefore refused to acknowledge the independence of the country, or to treat with the Patriots, except for a partial exchange of prisoners. Ordoner and the prisoners of Maypu, remain in Santiago, and we know nothing of their number. The General in chief with most of the force and wealth of the Spaniards, has left the kingdom, having first demolished the force of their strongest hold. One would think that if they had hopes of maintaining a footing here, they would not have deserted Talcahuano; so strong as it is by nature, and so almost impregnable as it was made by art, and at the same time, immediately accessible by sea. For six months we were witnesses of the strength of this place, while with an overcharged population, and with but a thousand troops to defend them, they maintained their ground against at least

five times their number, in almost daily attacks.

Yet this place they have abandoned; and now all the remnants of royalty are gathered together in the city of Los Angeles. The only advantage which this place possesses, is its vicinity to the friendly tribes of Indians, through whose territories lies the road to Valdivia; and in whose territories, the Bishop of Concepcion, fifteen years past, as he was travelling to Valdivia, to *give confirmation*, was robbed of every thing to his shirt, his guards and servants killed, and his own life spared only through the intercession of one of the Indians who had seen him in the city. To such allies is now entrusted the cause of royalty in Chili.

Except in the immediate vicinity of the army, there is now nothing like civil or military authority in any part of the province; no punishment for crimes, and no security for life or property. Each family or little community are obliged to make their own calculations for security, and to prepare to defend themselves against outrages in the best manner they can.

We are visited almost every day by parties of soldiers, who are sent in every direction to obtain horses and mules, saddles, bridles, &c. for the service of the king, which, as in other instances, they take without scruple or acknowledgment. By a little management with the soldiers, *we* have as yet escaped with the loss of five or six horses only. Many families in the neighbourhood have lost all their animals, their houses have been strictly searched and stripped of every thing that could be brought to serve for the use of the army. They beg lustily on these occasions, for exemption on the score of *poverty*; but having ever been accustomed to this mode of procedure to supply the exigencies of government, the question of its right and fitness in principle, seems never to have entered their heads.

They begin indeed, now to have some notions of *independence* as a nation, but as to real *liberty* and equality; the protection and security that government should be bound to afford the people, and the support that the people in return should be

bound to render *it* ; as to these respective rights and obligations, they are, generally speaking, nay, even the best of them, as completely uninformed or misinstructed, as are the very mules and oxen which they manage at will in their fields, in *their* rights and obligations with regard to man. I confess I had never before formed any thing like a correct idea of the submissive and degrading tameness to which despotism and ignorance united may reduce mankind. That the king was absolute disposer of life and property, was till very lately, a maxim as undisputed among them, as that the Pope was rightful head of the church, which last, none who desire to live in peace, will even now undertake to deny. As to their ideas of the *power* of the king, 'tis a very common question among them, "whether the English are not tributary to Spain ? and whether there be *Patriots* in Europe ? i. e. whether there be any nation there that has dared to revolt from the authority of the most catholic king ? and this, I am inclined to think, is the full extent of the meaning of *Patriotism* in Chili.

Hitherto the *church* has been kept open in Gualqui, and mass regularly attended; and twice, since I have been here, the people have been treated with a *sermon*. The curate is a sensible and pleasant man, and his influence is very considerably operative, in civil, as well as religious matters. Common thefts and minor crimes, (and indeed some that would pass with us as heinous ones) are frequently brought to light by *confession*; (a ceremony obligatory upon every catholic, at least once in the year) and the culprit, after restitution, and the performance of some penance imposed by the priest, is fully restored, as well to his own peace of conscience, as to his former standing among his neighbours. *He* is now preparing to retire to Arauco, and with him, several of the principal families of Gualqui; and thus it would seem, that the last bond that has held civil society together, in this vicinity, is about to be loosed.

February, 1819.

For three or four months past, I have not been able to write in any order, nor indeed to write at all, for reasons that will appear

in the retrospective view I shall take of the state of affairs in the province, and the scenes through which I have passed, during that period.

In the beginning of October, almost all the families of the Royalists of any standing or distinction, throughout the province, had, in obedience to the orders of the government, removed, some to Los Angeles, and others to various posts on the southern side of the river Biobio; from whence, in case of the approach of the Patriots, they might pass through the territories of friendly Indians to Valdivia and Chiloe. The troops, regular and militia, had most of them passed to the frontiers, taking with them, every *animal* they could encounter. Don Francisco Sanchez, the commander in chief, still remained in the city, with a guard only, and prepared to depart at a moment's warning.

In the mean-time, nothing was publicly known of the movements of the Patriots; if they had left Santiago, they were not near to Concepcion. There was then, the prospect of a complete interregnum of con-

siderable duration, in which time, the needy and abandoned, throughout the province, accustomed, for seven years, to all the turbulence of civil warfare, joined with deserters from the army, many of whom remained concealed in the mountains, would range freely, in all directions, and commit their depredations without restraint, or fear of punishment. The Indians, allied to the Royalists, were likewise every moment expected to approach the Capital. Under these circumstances, we no longer considered ourselves safe, insulated as we were, in the estancia, and with a population that had never borne a good name, at little more than a league distant from us; and especially as we had been repeatedly advised, that it was often a subject of conversation in the neighbourhood, that we ate from *plate*, which was true; and that I was an officer of the Canton, and had escaped with a considerable treasure, which, unfortunately for me, was not true.

We resolved then, to leave Gualqui for *Penco*, where the family I was with, were owners of an estancia, and where, they

would meet many friends and dependents, who, in case of any difficulty, would be prompt in their assistance.

On the fourth of October, we left the estancia, where we had enjoyed six months of *idle security*, at the least. We had carried with us, sheep and cattle, and we found in the estancia, plenty of wheat and wine; so that we escaped as well the scarcity and distress, as the fears and alarms, that reigned in Talcahuano, during that period. Under other circumstances, and in better times, our residence near Gualqui might have been made a delightful one. The scenery in the neighbourhood is grand and picturesque, and the site of our estancia sometimes brought to my mind, the *Valley of Rasselas*. It is situated on the declivity of a mountain, before it is a rich valley, of narrow circuit, and through the centre of the valley, runs a pleasant and perennial stream, the borders of the stream thickly set with fruit trees; figs, olives, lemons, peaches, quinces, pears, and apples, in abundance. It is completely and closely encircled by lofty mountains, covered with

evergreen trees and shrubbery; on the side of one of these mountains, is the vineyard, and over others, are foot paths, leading to the different estancias in the neighbourhood. From their summits, the view of the surrounding country is magnificent, ending with the Andes, or Cordelleras, at the distance of forty leagues, perpetually covered with snow, and which assume the appearance of dense, white clouds, rising from the horizon, in a thousand fantastical shapes; over these lies the road from Chili to Buenos Ayres. Our social intercourse while in the neighbourhood of Gualqui, was chiefly confined to the families of three widow ladies, who had retired from the city to their estancias, from the same motives that influenced us. We left them in anxious indecision, what course it was best for them to pursue.

Having made all necessary dispositions for our journey, we started early in the morning of the fourth of October, our troop, consisting of twelve persons, mounted on horseback, and ten mules loaded with our baggage. Our chief concern now, was

to avoid the parties of soldiers, who were continually passing towards the frontiers, and seizing on every thing they met, in the name, and for the service of the king.

We resolved then, to avoid the main road, that leads along the banks of the Biobio, to the city, and thence to Penco, and to take a by-path, which leads to the coast, over the summits of the mountains, which retire from the river, leaving the river and the city, at an average distance of five leagues on our left. Our journey was of three days, and our object, in escaping observation, was completely attained. We met neither soldier nor traveller: and indeed, it must be no ordinary motive, that would induce any human being to risk his neck over precipices such as those we were now obliged to pass. The path was often indistinct, and winding along the sides of craggy and precipitous mountains, and a continued, unvaried succession of ascent and descent. Yet, in the vallies, at the distance of two or three leagues from each other, we always found a decent house, a rich and

cultivated spot, and generally, a friendly and hospitable family.

The style of accommodations for the night, and at meals, was the same as travellers meet with in all other parts of the province. There is nothing like a *tavern* here, nor, as I understand, in any part of Chili, except on the road from Valparaiso to Santiago. A party, or an individual arrives at an estancia, and requests permission to lodge for the night, which is never denied. If they be friends, or evidently gentlemen, they are invited within, to partake with the family, of whatever the house may afford. Strangers and ordinary travellers are always permitted the use of the corridor, the kitchen, and cooking materials; and provisions they always carry with them.

After many *hair breadth 'scapes*, most of us having been thrown from our horses more than once, on the third day at noon, we came in sight of the ocean, and in a few hours, were safely lodged in the estancia, near Penco.

After a day or two of rest, my first ob-

ject was, to visit the ruins of the ancient city of Concepcion, or Penco, for the names were formerly, and indeed still are, used indiscriminately. The site of the ancient city, is on the eastern side of the bay, and directly opposite to Talcahuano. It is difficult to conjecture what could have led the first settlers to the selection of the spot, on which they founded the ancient city. It is nearly facing the main entrance to the bay; and exposed to the full force of the northern blasts, which, in winter, are frequent and tremendous. The city was commenced upon a plain, of about half a mile square, and nearly upon a level with the waters of the bay, surrounded by hills, of moderate height, which, as the city increased, were likewise covered with buildings. The soil and scenery in the immediate neighbourhood, is the most barren and unsightly that I have met with in any part of the province; and it could never have been made a good *port*, since the waters of the bay near it are extremely shallow.

I renewed my inquiries here with regard to the great *earthquake*, but can find no-

body who knows or cares in what year it happened. I have seen one old lady of respectable family, who says she remembers it; but she is by no means willing to admit that it was so long ago as my recollection from books would make it. The shock itself did little or no damage, and almost all the injury the city suffered was by inundation, and this so gradual, that all the inhabitants had time to escape to the hills; so that in this earthquake, which caused the removal of the population of a great city, and which caused a panic from which it appears as if their latest posterity would not recover; not a single life was lost or jeopardized.

The old people in the neighbourhood speak with enthusiasm of the beauty of the ancient city; the magnificence of its churches, and the opulence of their fathers and grandfathers. All this may have been; but now, not even the *ghost* of a city remains; not a single vestige of past splendor is to be met with. A few of the streets may be traced by mouldering foundation walls; and the only ancient building is a castle at the wa-

ter's edge, composed of granite, and about two hundred feet in length, and eighty or ninety in breadth; the walls about thirty feet in height, and fifteen in thickness, well constructed, and still firm. In front is a large brown stone, fashioned in form of a gate, curiously wrought with the arms of the king, and this inscription below, PIUS VI. P. R. On one side of the castle is the date of the building, ANNO 1687. Within are good accommodations for three hundred or four hundred troops and officers. In this castle each party, as they have alternately had possession of the city and coast during the present war, have maintained a vidette guard of from ten to thirty men.

Penco is now nothing more than a village of fishmongers. There are not ten families in the place who have any other means of livelihood, than what they gain by supplying the market in Concepcion with fish. The materials of which their churches and houses were constructed were transported to compose the new city, which accounts for the speedy disappearance even of the ruins of the ancient one.

The inhabitants of Penco afforded another instance to the many that appear in history, to prove that neither inundations, nor volcanoes, nor earthquakes, nor pestilence are sufficient to conquer the principle of local attachment. They were generally averse to the removal, and it was found necessary to exert the full force of royal authority, in order to compel them to desert the mansions of their fathers.

The site of the *present* city was selected with judgment and taste; three leagues south of Penco, upon an extensive plain, nearly in the form of a parallelogram, bordered on one side by steep and lofty hills, and washed on the other by the beautiful river Biobio. It has an easy communication by land with the port Talcahuano, which was founded at the time of the removal, and has now become of very considerable importance, both in wealth and population.

We now enjoyed some days of tranquillity without any alarm, and without any knowledge of the movements either of the Royalists or the Patriots. A small river which empties itself into the bay near the

estancia, afforded us plenty of fish, and upon its banks were innumerable flocks of wild fowls, so that we were never at a loss for exercise or sport.

In the mean time *Talcahuano*, which had for so many years, been the scene of interest and action—whose streets were lately thronged with inhabitants and the port crowded with ships, was now almost entirely deserted. The principal families had followed the Royal army, and the poor and a few traders only remained. Not a ship, nor a launch, nor a boat had floated in the bay since the departure of Osorio.

On the 20th of October, two sail appeared in the mouth of the harbour, bearing the Spanish flag. After sending a boat in shore, to ascertain the state of affairs, they entered the bay and anchored off *Talcahuano*. They proved to be a Spanish frigate and a large transport ship, and were two of a convoy of fifteen or sixteen sail that left Cadiz in the month of May, with troops, arms and warlike stores, bound first to Lima, but with Chili for their ultimate destination. Their voyage had been tem-

pestuous and disastrous in the extreme ; even before they reached Cape Horn they were shattered and dispersed in a violent gale, and were never afterwards enabled to unite. The troops on board were so generally infected with the *scurvy* that not enough remained well, to give assistance to the sick. The sailors were in but little better condition, and barely enough to manage the ships, remained fit for duty.

In the course of three or four days, and while these were engaged in disembarking the troops, and conveying the sick to the hospitals in Concepcion, *two other* transport ships of the convoy arrived ; entered the port in the same manner, and with troops and crews, in the same miserable condition. From the four ships, about six hundred troops were landed, and with the care and attention of the inhabitants of Concepcion, were, most of them, in a short time again able to serve. They were veterans, who had served in the war between France and Spain, and most of them wore a medallion, or some badge of distinction, commemorative of some great battle in Europe. They

afforded a timely reinforcement to the slender army of the Royal commander in chief.

The state of things was now extremely critical in the neighbourhood of Talcahuano. The Patriots were daily expected to advance from different directions; it was known, that they had in preparation, a very considerable naval force, in the port of Valparaiso; and it was generally believed, that this would be ordered to Talcahuano, to co-operate with the land forces. For these reasons, the commanders of the royal ships, in the port, thought it best to hasten their departure, and having provided themselves with fresh provisions and water, they sailed for Lima on the first of November; they were scarcely clear of the land, when another large sail appeared at the mouth of the harbour, and entered it, and anchored, in the same manner as the others had done. This proved to be the frigate *Maria Isabella*, and was likewise one of this unfortunate convoy; and in all respects, the richest and most valuable of the fleet. In her, came passengers several of the most important officers of civil government in Lima; a son

of the yiceroy, returning from Spain, having finished his education there; together with a number of military officers of rank, some of them, with their wives and families. She is a frigate of the first class, mounting fifty-six guns, and built, (as some of her officers informed me,) in Russia, of the best materials, and finished in superb style. Besides troops, and the choicest warlike stores, she had on board, rich effects to a large amount, belonging to the captain, and the different passengers. The troops and sailors on board of her had not suffered so much, as those of the other ships of the convoy; still, however, she had many on the sick list; and the same disposition was made of them, as of those that were landed from the others. The officers and passengers passed to the city to divert themselves there, for a day or two, previous to their departure for Lima; there I first saw them, and little did I then think, that I should be fated, in the course of some two months, to meet the same persons again, in the neighbourhood, and among the savages of the Cordelleras.

After remaining several days in the port, and obtaining every requisite supply, for the refreshment of the crew, the *Maria Isabella* prepared to depart; the passengers had returned to Talcahuano, the crew were on board, and they were waiting only for a change of wind, in order to set sail for Lima; when on the morning of the 6th of November, two other large ships appeared in sight, and standing for the bay. *We*, who were near to the shore, opposite to Talcahuano, and separated from it only by a narrow part of the bay, concluded, of course, that they were two others of the convoy, and spent some hours of the morning, in observing the majesty and grace, with which, with a favourable wind, and all sails set, they were advancing towards us.

They were soon sufficiently near, to excite very different emotions among the officers and crew of the *Maria Isabella*. They did not answer her signals, and as they passed the island, at the entrance of the harbour, the Patriot flag was displayed. The *Maria* now hauled in near to the shore, and prepared to make what resistance was pos-

sible or proper ; the enemy advancing before the wind, and with great rapidity, directly towards her. The forces were too unequal to admit of contest ; that of the Patriots, consisting of the San Martin, mounting upwards of sixty guns, and the Lautaro, of more than forty. The Maria commenced fire, when her shot could not reach more than two thirds of the distance of her enemy, and continued to fire briskly ; this was answered only by two shot, from the bow chasers of the San Martin, until she and her companion came within fair gun shot, when they rounded, and each of them poured a broadside into the Maria ; she immediately struck her colours, without having received any material injury, either to the ship or crew. At the same time, the captain and officers, with as many of the men, as two boats could contain, (no more than two of the ship's boats remaining,) pushed off for the shore, and landed in safety, though exposed to the fire of the Patriots in their passage. They escaped with nothing more than the clothes upon their backs, not having had time to go be-

low, nor to preserve a single article of the treasures which the ship contained. The ships of the Patriots immediately proceeded to man their boats, and take possession of their prize, rich and valuable in itself, but now of vast importance to the Patriots, for the increase it added to their infant navy. One of the Patriot's ships was said to have been commanded by an American. The situation of the officers and passengers, on shore, who, all this while were looking on, was truly distressing ; in a strange land, without a change of apparel, not a dollar in their purses, and threatened on all sides by numerous and formidable enemies. *They*, with most of the inhabitants of Talcahuano, now fled towards Concepcion, from the apprehension that the Patriots would land, which proved to be their intention. Between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, after having made all necessary dispositions with regard to their prize, about an hundred men landed, and took quiet possession of Talcahuano ; there they found plenty of brandy, wine, and provisions, but

nothing else of sufficient value to transport to their ships.

In the mean-time information was conveyed to the city of what was passing in the *port*. All the troops that could be mustered, were ordered to proceed instantly to Talcahuano ; and towards night a considerable body arrived. After some slight skirmishing, in which the Patriots lost a captain of marines and several sailors, (prisoners) they betook themselves to the boats, and proceeded on board.

They now commenced a brisk and tremendous cannonading from the *three* ships upon the town, and continued it with little interruption until nine at night. At daylight in the morning they renewed their fire, and continued it briskly for upwards of two hours, by which time scarcely a house in Talcahuano had escaped without essential injury, and many of those most exposed, were nearly levelled to the ground. In the mean time a *single cannon* was worked against them ; and this was all that remained in Talcahuano, of the formidable batteries of the preceding year.

About ten o'clock in the morning of the seventh, the wind suddenly shifted to the south, upon which the *prize* was immediately got under weigh, and sailed for Valparaiso, where she safely arrived. The other two proceeded to sea in the afternoon of the same day, one of them having been aground. They remained cruising without the bay for several days, but did not again enter the harbour.

Shortly after this affair, the commander in chief, Sanchez, commenced his march for the frontiers, taking with him those of the Spanish soldiers, who were able to march, and ordering the others to be conveyed to different posts on the southern side of the Biobio. Many of the inhabitants who had hitherto remained in Concepcion, together with the officers, passengers and men, who had escaped from the *Maria Isabella*, followed in his train.

The city and province of Concepcion, were now left without government or defence. For some time previous to this, *guirillas* of from twenty to forty men, had been stationed in various directions through-

out the province for the purpose of gathering supplies *pro rata*, for the king's service, of acting as videttes, and of watching suspected persons.

These parties were now reinforced by a portion of the veterans lately arrived from Spain; men nursed in blood, and grown grey in scenes of rapine and devastation. These were sometimes commanded by a serjeant, just taken from the ranks with orders ill defined, and power unlimited, and secure from scrutiny in the distance and weakness of the government, and the perils of the times.

They soon became an object of greater dread to the miserable unarmed inhabitants along the coast, than the barbarians of the frontiers had ever been to their forefathers. At their approach, not only flocks and herds were concealed, but men, women and children fled to the mountains for security. Their conduct in many instances was such as would make one shudder at the recital, and blush to write. They were not confined to any particular spot, but changed place as their prey became

searce; so that few estancias in the province, however remote, escaped their visitation.

Our situation now became extremely perplexing and distressing. The estancia in which we were, was on the main road, and would be passed by the soldiers as they should retire to the frontiers. The family I was with, had always been suspected of *patriotism*, and two of their number had been close prisoners in Talcahuano during the whole of the siege, accused of correspondence with the enemy, besides their remaining behind, as if to await the approach of the Patriots, would have been deemed sufficient proof against them.

I had no less reason to apprehend an encounter with these *guirillas*. I was the only one of my nation in the province, and the irritation of the Royalists against the Americans was great and general. It was universally believed among them, that the Patriots, deficient in seamen, and ignorant of naval tactics, owed all their success by sea, to American and English officers and men who had joined them. The officers

and citizens with whom I had associated the past year, were now far away, so that in case of any difficulty, I had no hope of succour from them.

Under these circumstances, we determined to take the usual resort, in this country, in all cases of peril—to retire to the mountains. The face of the country near the coast, is so diversified with hill and dale, the forest growth is so abundant, and the foliage of evergreen so luxuriant, that an unlucky accident only, would reveal a place of concealment chosen with care and judgment. The temperature of the climate is so genial, and so nearly equal throughout the year, that the effects of exposure are not feared as they would be in like circumstances in most other parts of the world. During the changes that have taken place in the present contest, many individuals and even families have remained concealed for months together, in the mountains within a league of their enemy, whose discovery of their retreat would have been probable death to them; and relying with a confidence that was

never abused, upon the fidelity of some friend or relation (sometimes of the opposite party) for maintenance and information.

Having concealed every thing valuable that belonged to us in the woods near the estancia, we ourselves retired about half a league from it, and in the depths of a forest passed the greater part of the month of November.

On the 30th of this month we received information on which we thought we might fully rely, that the Patriots were near at hand, and that the last of the guirillas of the Royalists had that morning passed the estancia, for the frontiers. We now left our retreat, and returned again to the estancia, where, having dined with more zest than usual, we prepared to sleep our siesta in peace and quietness. Our rest was of short duration. About three o'clock we were awakened by the alarm of a guirilla, and on approaching the door, the soldiers presented themselves in full view, galloping towards the estancia. The two young men of the family instantly resolved to trust to their knowledge of the intrica-

cies of the woods, and escape, while I resolved to trust to my neutral character and the chance of being known to the officers, and remain. In a few minutes, four of the soldiers, who preceded the rest, rode towards me, and presenting their swords to my breast, threatened me with instant death, if I did not reveal the hiding place of my companions. I answered them by explaining my situation as a stranger accidentally here, &c. &c. to which they listened with more patience than I had reason to expect.

In the mean time, the rest of the Guirilla came up; one half their number was ordered to pursue the fugitives, and the other took possession of the house. This they searched with a scrutiny that seemed to have something more than *loyalty* for its stimulus. Whatever most pleased the eye, was found to have some mark of patriotism about it; and whatever was connected with patriotism was fair and legal prize.

After about half an hour, employed in this manner, their companions returned; not having effected the object of their search, yet not empty handed. They would,

in all probability, have come up with the fugitives, had they not have met in the pursuit, a bait for delay, too tempting for them to resist. They returned loaded with trunks and baggage, belonging to the family, and to me. The smallest of mine, containing papers, some money, and a few gold and silver ornaments, they had broken open, and rifled of every thing but the papers, and already divided the spoil. They now proceeded to examine my other trunks, from which they took my watch, pocket books, dressing case, and a number of the most valuable articles of my clothing; all of which was to be guarded with care, and given up to me, when my character should be cleared; but none of which, except my watch, could I ever recover.

They then proceeded to the examination of my papers, and as the commander of the guirilla, who was a sergeant and a mulatto, could neither read nor write, a spanish soldier, who from the first, appeared to have considerable influence among them, was appointed to this office. This man gave us to understand that he knew almost all the languages of Europe—that he had

been much among the English, and though not accustomed to *speak* English, he should find no difficulty in comprehending the import of my papers. After turning over a number, somewhat suspicious in their appearance, his attention was at last fixed upon a large and formal policy of insurance, headed in large letters "Fire and Marine Insurance Company." This he gravely translated into a commission for the marine of the Insurgents; and without a thought on the absurdity of the construction, it was so received by them all.—The commander now informed me, that his instructions obliged him to take me with him, a prisoner, to the frontiers; that we must depart forthwith. He now ordered two or three soldiers to search, in the vicinity, for the means of my conveyance. They soon returned, with a mule, for my trunks, and with the skeleton of a horse, old, gaunt and lame; the wooden frame of a saddle, with a single sheep skin upon it, and with a leathern halter, or laso, for a bridle, which I was informed was intended for my accommodation.

In the formation, I was ordered to take my station in the centre of the Guirilla ; and thus mounted and thus accompanied, I commenced my journey towards the Indian frontiers, at the distance, by the road which we took, of upwards of seventy leagues.

The road, for the first ten leagues, was little better than that we had passed in returning from Gualqui, a continued succession of precipitous mountains, and dark and dismal forests. Ten leagues was the distance appointed for this night's journey—a night that will forever remain fresh in my memory. During the long and dreary way, no cottage light gleamed at a distance, the rays of the moon were often shut out for miles together, by the thickness of the foliage, and no single mark of human habitation presented itself to the eye. More than once, the miserable animal upon which I was mounted, sunk exhausted to the ground ; and on these occasions, the assistance that was ordered me, was rendered in the midst of curses and imprecations.

More than once too, during this night, it was a subject of warm debate among them,

whether, knowing me to be a patriot, it was not best, to make way with me at once, and avoid the difficulties and delay I might occasion them on the road. In the present times of peril and confusion, it was not probable that an investigation would take place, and if it should, it would be easy to invent a plausible story to account for my disappearance. Conversation to this amount passed directly in my presence ; they either believing that I could not understand them, or not caring whether I did or not.—My wardrobe was extensive, and sufficiently rich—*they* were miserably clad, and some of them without a shirt. The temptation was such, as I did not believe they would have been able to resist—One man only, among them, seemed to take a favourable interest in my situation, and sought from the first, to do me all the friendly offices in his power. This was a peasant, of the militia, who had lately joined the guirilla. To one who has never been reduced to a situation so perilous and disconsolate, as was mine, during this night, it is inconceivable how sweet the voice of kindness and sym-

pathy may become. In whatever place, and in whatever circumstances, I might meet this man again, I should embrace him with the warmth and affection of a brother. He related to me afterwards, in Los Angeles, the full extent of the designs and wishes of the greater part of the Guirilla towards me. The Spanish soldiers repeated their solicitations, that I should be given up to them ; but their commander seemed to be aware that he was approaching head quarters—that he was perhaps, within the sphere of responsibility ; and likewise, that it might be true, (as I had found occasion to inform him) that I was intimately acquainted with his commander in chief, and had dined at his table for weeks together. Whether from these, or from motives more honourable to human nature, he now assumed a character very different from that which report had given him, when at a distance. He opposed all their suggestions of violence ; and at last, growing warm on the subject, declared that not only he would not consent that any personal injury should be offered me, but

that he would spill his blood in my defence. After this, we journeyed on in sullen silence, till about two o'clock in the morning, we came to an extensive and cultivated plain, and an uninhabited house. Here, we unsaddled our horses, lighted fires, and prepared for a few hours of rest. Though now somewhat accustomed to the ground for my bed, and a stone for my pillow, I did not yet feel myself sufficiently at ease, with my companions for the night, to think much of repose.

Shortly after sun rise, we recommenced our journey, taking with us a fine flock of sheep, which we encountered near the house where we lodged.

We had now left the mountainous, rough, and comparatively barren country, near the coast, and were advancing into the interior. The plain upon which we passed the night, was the commencement of a tract of country, rich, fertile, varied, and abounding in almost every production. The roads gradually improved, and estancias, with extensive cultivated grounds, were seen in all directions.

After travelling about two leagues, we stopped at an estancia to breakfast; we were received with great cordiality, and the whole troop furnished in a few moments, with every thing they could wish. The *buildings* here were similar to those of the other estancias, which we afterwards passed on the road. The main house, large, firm, and at least as well built as those of the city; of similar construction, as to form and divisions, but finished with more taste, more ornamented, and the court and yards about the house, infinitely more neat and cleanly. Besides the house, in which the family live, the estancias upon the road consisted generally of four or five other buildings; the kitchen, which is always separate, a large storehouse for wheat, another for wine, and often three or four different manufactories, of soap, starch, bricks, earthen jars, &c.

About three leagues farther on, we stopped at a first rate estancia, to dine, and were received so cordially, and feasted so sumptuously, that it was decided to remain there, for the day and night. In the after-

noon, we were regaled with music, and a number of very pretty girls assembled in the evening, which was passed in dancing and merriment. I thought this a good time to remonstrate with the commander of the Guirilla, upon the style and manner in which I was accommodated for the journey, as unbecoming both him and me ; and again giving him hints of my acquaintance with his superior officers. This had so good an effect, that before he retired for the night, he came to inform me, that a good horse, saddle and bridle, would be in readiness for me, in the morning.

Leaving the village of *La Florida*, about a league on our left, we passed on the next day, about fifteen leagues, without any occurrence of interest. *La Florida* is but a small and mean village, and its only importance is derived from the silver mines in its neighbourhood, and but few of these are now worked. On the fourth day of our journey, we passed through the town of Umbel, the only considerable place between Concepcion and Los Angeles. It is well built, pleasantly situated upon a rich plain,

watered by a fine stream, and contains about three thousand inhabitants. The Intendente of the army, Cabanes, was at this time in Umbel, on his way to Los Angeles. There too we met the captain of the company to which our guirilla belonged, (Mendoza.) I immediately applied to him, for permission to wait on the Intendente, which was peremptorily refused. During the rest of our journey, which was of eight days, we passed a great number of estancias, with every appearance of plenty and opulence about them, though they had been exposed to the ravages and contributions of a seven years war. We frequently passed large and copious streams, running into the Biobio, and bordered with rich *intervale*.

Upon almost every hill was a smiling vineyard, and upon almost every plain, a field of wheat as extensive as the eye could reach. The *pasture*, for leagues together, was as high and abundant, as fields of herds' grass, with us, in mowing season; it is never cut and housed, and was now left uncropt.

Before this desolating contest, the regu-

lar stock, in a respectable estancia, was one to two thousand horses, and from four to five thousand cows and oxen. Not one in a hundred of these, are now to be met with. Our guirilla, who supposed they were the last that would retire by this road, seemed resolved to *sweep clean*, and before we arrived on the frontiers, had collected about a thousand cows and oxen, and fifty horses, which we drove on before us. These we left in estancias, near to Los Angeles, whose pasture grounds were already crowded with flocks and herds, gathered for the use of the royal army. Through such a country, and with such companions, I journeyed on for eight days. While on the road, it was several times reported, that the people had risen, and that the Patriots were at hand; on which account the guirilla always travelled prepared for battle. I endeavoured in vain to conciliate them, on several occasions, on the road, there were high disputes, and the favour that the commander continued to show to me, was often the subject of dissension.

We now approached Los Angeles, the

head quarters of the Royalists. Within about a league of the city, we met the royal forces, drawn up in review. They consisted of about two thousand Indians, and five or six hundred European troops. After performing several manœuvres, which our guirilla halted to view, they all proceeded to the city, and were formed in the square. Our party followed, and I was presented to the staff, in the midst of them all, as a suspicious person, found in the house of a Patriot. The commander in chief, however, recognized me, and ordered me, with a guard, to the house of the Intendente, where my papers were examined, and I was, shortly, liberated from my guard. To the accidental circumstance of being somewhat acquainted with the commander in chief, I was indebted for my liberation, and probably for my life. The enthusiasm in favour of the royal cause was at this period so high, and the irritation against the Patriots so great, that suspicion, without proof, was enough to subject a man to insult, imprisonment, and even death. With the Indians especially, you

needed only to point to one, and name him *Patriot*, to bring them upon him, with all their savage fury.

Under these circumstances, the hour I passed in the presence of the army, when drawn up in the square, was excessively trying and unpleasant. My appearance sufficiently denoted me to be a *prisoner*. I was aware, that I was taken under suspicious circumstances ; I was uncertain whether the commander in chief would be inclined to recognize me, I was, moreover, weak, and almost exhausted, with the fatigues of so dreadful a journey. The piercing war hoop, and frantic gestures of the Indians, were but little calculated to quiet my apprehensions. They were nearly naked, most of them painted and disfigured in a most disgusting manner ; armed with lances, about twenty feet in length, and all mounted upon superb and well trained horses. It appeared, then, to me, that a human sacrifice was all that was wanting, to complete the scene.

It was then, no slight consolation to me, to find myself recognized ; and, after the

examination of my papers, released, in a good measure, from restraint. Still, however, my situation was sufficiently distressing. I found myself on the Indian frontiers, at the foot of the Andes, in a town thronged to overflowing with Royalists who had fled there for protection; unknown, suspected, friendless, and without resources. I found, however, in one of my trunks, the sum of eight dollars, which had escaped the scrutiny of the guirilla, and with this I was enabled to subsist during the six weeks that I was obliged to pass in Los Angeles. My repeated applications for rations, and a quarter, were disregarded, and my demand for restitution of the property that had been taken from me, was answered by a representation of the weakness of the government, and the critical posture of affairs.

The posture of affairs was indeed critical; since the patriots were now regularly advancing with a force unquestionably superior to that which could be brought to resist them. Yet the commander in chief contrived to keep up the confidence

and enthusiasm of the troops and people, as full and as high, as if, for every man, he had had a regiment to oppose to his enemy. The Patriot prisoners were treated with a degree of rigour, that seemed to defy retaliation. Of the deserters that were brought in, nine were shot dead in a moment, a few mornings after my arrival. They were marched to the seats in the square, each one supported by a priest, administering consolation and hope, and accompanied by a band of music, and the soldiers, selected for their execution.—As this was the first scene of the kind, I had ever witnessed, and as I did not, yet, feel quite assured of my own safety, it was to me doubly solemn and impressive. On this occasion, as on other similar ones, while I was in Los Angeles, the Indians were drawn up to witness the ceremony, and always displayed a most disgusting interest in the scene.

The two or three first days I passed in Los Angeles, were spent in searching for a shelter; and the nights in the shed of a court yard, near the house of the Intendente, where my baggage remained. I at

last received a hospitable reception, in a very poor, but honest and industrious family, whose house, or *quarto*, consisted of one room, about eight feet in breadth, and twenty in length. They prepared for me, a very decent bed, upon the raised platform; and I thought myself secure of a night of repose; but here again I was disappointed. About midnight, I was awakened by a slight noise, near the door, which had not been secured; and on listening, distinctly heard a whispering, and afterwards, footsteps softly entering the *quarto*. I now thrust out my arm, and the first object I encountered was the sabre of a soldier. I was sufficiently near to the family, to give them the alarm, in an instant. The soldiers assured us that if we made any disturbance, it should go *worse with us*.—The women, however, began to knock against the walls of the house, and to vociferate so loudly, that the soldiers thought it best to depart; not however, without taking with them, my boots, which they encountered at the side of the bed. Outrages, worse than the above, took place, in

all parts of the city, almost every hour of every night. The state of things precluded strict discipline among the troops; they were well aware of this, and took all the scope and license that circumstances offered them.

Among the families that were now constantly flocking into Los Angeles, for refuge, I soon recognized several that I had known in Concepcion, which rendered my situation (still unpleasant enough) much more tolerable. I here too again saw the son of the Viceroy of Lima, and the officers and passengers of the *Maria Isabella*, whom I had seen after her capture, in Talcahuano.

The City of Los Angeles is situated nearly in the centre of an immense plain; extending to the river Biobio, about three leagues distant on one side, and to ranges of hills of moderate height, on others. The plain affords excellent pasture for innumerable flocks and herds, and in the neighbourhood of the hills, are many first rate estancias, belonging to citizens of Los Angeles, and to rich country gentlemen: a number of these last had already resorted

to the City, with their families, and among them, many were easily distinguished as Europeans. The city is built upon the same plan as Concepcion; the streets wide, and at right angles, and the same style of architecture; but the private houses not so well built, nor of so good materials, and the public buildings vastly inferior.

On one side of the square is a large castle or fort, with a deep fosse, and thick walls, in which a thousand troops might be quartered; and seems well calculated for defence against the Indians. Opposite to this is the only *church* and convent in the City. It is neither large nor sightly, nor richly ornamented within. I know not how to account for the fact, that the ecclesiastical establishment here, should be upon so small a scale; since in many other towns in the country, of less magnitude, you meet with a church and convent at every corner. The manners and customs of the inhabitants, seem to me to differ but little from those of Concepcion. The complexion, especially of the lower classes, is of a darker hue; which is easily accounted for by their

proximity to the Indians. The number of inhabitants in ordinary times, amounts to about six thousand ; they were now swelled to at least 10,000.

As I have said before, it is the depot for all the articles of trade between the Indians and the inhabitants of the province ; and in the principal street, which is about a mile in length, there are more marks of business and industry than I have seen elsewhere in this country. Through the centre of the city, runs a clear and beautiful stream of water, fresh from the Andes, which, diverted into different channels, contributes much to the health and cleanliness of the city.

The outskirts of the town are extremely beautiful. The houses are neat ; generally somewhat distant from the road, and are so completely enshrouded in groves of fruit trees, that, when passing among them, you can hardly persuade yourself that you are in a city.

From Los Angelos and the vicinity, is a noble view of part of the chain of the Andes, whose snowy peaks rise far above the clouds that seem to be resting upon their

sides. On approaching Los Angeles, I thought we had arrived nearly at their feet; they seemed, indeed, to be almost impending over us; and I was astonished to learn that we were at least ten leagues distant from them. The same optical delusion I have observed in several different positions from which I have viewed them, in other parts of the province.

The frequent streams that descend from these mountains and empty themselves at intervals into the river Biobio, are one of the principal causes of the exuberant fertility of this part of the province. Their course is easily diverted for the purpose of irrigating the grounds, should it be required, though the rains, even in the summer months, are sufficiently frequent and copious to bring to maturity most of the productions of the earth.

There are no *mines* in the immediate vicinity of Los Angeles; none nearer than those of silver in La Florida, which we passed on our second day's journey from Penco.

The impressions I received with regard to the *Indians*, from the deputations that

arrived to the royalists in Talcahuano, while I was there, were not materially changed by a nearer view of them. During my stay in Los Angeles, a part of ten or fifteen tribes came in to offer their services to the commander in chief. On these occasions they were formally received by a general officer, were formed in the square, and honoured with a salute of cannon and musketry. At the time of the salute, a few of the boldest among them would generally gallop towards the cannon, flourish their lances at the time of the discharge, and seem to be bidding defiance to its power. Such instances of heroism were always received by their companions with a loud and piercing yell of applause. Of course, nothing like regular discipline or subordination could be expected among them; and to keep them within any moderate bounds of order was no easy task. The earnestness with which their aid was accepted, was enough to prove to them how important they were considered to the success of the royal cause. It is true the present commander in chief, Don Francis-

co Sanchez, has long maintained a most extraordinary influence over them. The origin of his popularity was, his having in the first revolution successfully defended the town of *Chillian* against a formidable attack of the Patriots, with but few regular troops and a considerable body of Indians under his command. I very much doubt however, whether his name and presence were now so effectual in keeping them together, and maintaining their enthusiasm in the cause, as the immense quantities of wine and provisions that were required to be contributed from every part of the province for their support. Their encampment, a little more than a league from the city, exhibited one of the most disgusting scenes I ever witnessed. At noon, you would find them seated in groups round their fires, devouring their half roasted horse-flesh with the voracity of tigers; then followed their wine, of which they generally took enough to prostrate them senseless upon the ground. To every different tribe there were attached two or three of the citizens of Los Angeles, who

by long traffic with them had acquired their language, and who served as commissaries and interpreters in their communications with the government.

They were never long at rest, either among themselves or with regard to the government; but were daily swarming into the city, and besieging the houses of the general, to petition for some redress of grievances, or for some further supplies.

On the whole, I was perfectly convinced from the first, that however their name and numbers might strike terror into the hearts of the disaffected in the province, and however imposing they might appear in relation to the Patriots, who were advancing, that they never could be brought to render any effectual and essential service to the cause of the king. The tribes now collecting here, live scattered along the foot of the Cordelleras, bordering upon the province of Concepcion, in rude villages, from which they remove from time to time, as more eligible sites present themselves. Though they are now independent tribes, and frequently at war with each other,

there is very little difference in their general appearance, and I understand, their manners and customs and their language is the same. Three hundred years ago, they probably composed one of those formidable nations that maintained so gallant a resistance to Spanish conquest. In their *persons* they show no marks of degeneracy; they are tall, well proportioned, and not ungraceful; many of their *Caciques* have features that would have graced a Roman emperor. In every other respect, they are no longer to be distinguished from the savages of other climes. They are cunning and timid in attack, prompt and fleet in retreat, cruel and ferocious in victory.

You would now look in vain for any trace of that firm and systematic courage, for which *history* gives their ancestors credit, in their resistance to Spanish encroachments; far less can you discern a remaining spark of that enthusiasm, magnanimity and heroism, instances of which are described with so much beauty and energy in the *Araucana* of Ercilla. They have depreciated as much in numbers as in charac-

ter. Polygamy is not carried to so great an extent among them as it formerly was, and there are now few of the *Caciques* who maintain more than six or seven wives.

Many of the women followed in the train of their husbands to Los Angeles, and afforded much amusement to the people of the city, by the curiosity they displayed, and their simple exclamations of wonder and astonishment at what they saw. *They* too, have fine forms, and were very decently clad, and decked with a profusion of large silver ornaments suspended from the ears, and bound round their waists and arms. *At home*, they are usually employed in weaving mantles and ponchos, which are universally worn in the province, in the room of great coats ; these, together with horses and cattle, are the chief articles of commerce between the Indians, and the inhabitants of Concepcion, from whom they receive in return, wine, brandy, sugar, cotton, indigo, tobacco, and other articles, which *they* now have been brought to consider as necessaries of life. It is well ascertained that the tracts of country, of which they

have maintained possession, are more fertile in soil, and richer in mines, than any other parts of Chili. They have now but crude notions of agriculture, and there are few tribes that sow and reap, with any degree of regularity. The accounts of the abundance of fruit, and especially of apples, that are produced spontaneously, in the tracts they inhabit, are almost beyond belief. Of their apples, they make great quantities of cider, or *chicha*, by pounding and mashing them in vats made of skins; this, when drawn off, and mixed with a spirit, which they extract from the roots of certain shrubs and trees, forms a strong and intoxicating liquor: while the season for this continues, they devote themselves, almost entirely to festivity and debauch; this, however, lasts but a short time, and they are not yet so refined, as to be provident of the future.

But few of their *mines* have ever been explored, and none of them are now permitted to be worked. The massy ornaments about their persons, and the caparisons of their horses, are wrought from the

fragments of nearly pure silver, which are often met with upon their mountains, on the surface of the ground. A good number of silversmiths and blacksmiths, have, from time to time, emigrated from the province, and settled among them. They are said to enjoy the favour of the chiefs, to be perfectly contented, and to feel no disposition to return. The Indians brought with them to Los Angeles, a great abundance of fine looking horses and mules; for two or three dollars, or, (what they would prefer) an old red jacket, or pair of breeches, you might purchase an excellent and beautiful horse.

The *Nuns* of Concepcion, whose desertion of their sanctuary had spread such consternation through the province, were now in Los Angeles. A private house was prepared for their accommodation; and they were permitted to live, as far in conformity to their usual routine as circumstances would allow. I very much doubt, whether, during the desolating wars that have raged in *Europe*, for these twenty years past, any one of the holy sisterhoods, there, has been reduced to a situa-

tion more wretched and disconsolate, than has fallen to the lot of these helpless and unfortunate devotees. They were most of them aged, and many, for at least thirty years past, had never cast a glance beyond the walls of their cloister. They were now, suddenly, cast upon the wide world, and under circumstances, that would have required no slight exertion of fortitude even in women long accustomed to its troubles and changes. They were induced to follow in the train of a retreating army, and in constant dread of pursuit by the victorious Patriots, who, they had been led to believe, had become enemies to their institutions and their faith. They were moreover obliged to intrust themselves to a new element, and surrounded by sailors and soldiers, to *embark* for distant frontiers, and that too, for the purpose of placing themselves under the protection of savage infidels. Several of them, on the passage, sunk under the weight of real hardships, and imaginary terrors, and were brought to the place of their destination, only to be interred. What will become of those that

remain, it is impossible to conjecture; their fate is now completely interwoven with the cause of royalty, and it is by no means improbable, that this first removal may have been only the commencement of their sufferings.

In the mean time, the scene that presented itself in Los Angeles, was of no considerable interest; and might have afforded sufficient materials for speculation upon the instability of human affairs. The houses and streets were thronged with a population, composed of all colours, ranks, and conditions. The wealthy Dons from the vicinity had come in, with their families, and with every thing valuable and portable that they possessed. The monks and friars, of all orders and degrees, had deserted their monasteries; and the curates and vicars their flocks and livings, and were gathered here. The *troops* were paraded every day, for exercise, and in their manœuvres, you might observe all the shades of difference, from the rude efforts of the savage, to the thorough discipline of an European soldier.

In their appearance, you might find every

variety, from absolute nakedness, to the gorgeous apparel of a Spanish officer. The tribes that wander at the foot of the Andes, were now ranged under the same standard, and zealous in the same cause, with the veterans who had lately fought at the foot of the Pyrennees. The militia of the neighbourhood were called into actual service, and formed a middle grade between the Spaniards and the Indians. All were actuated by the same spirit of loyalty, and appeared regardless of immediate danger, and confident of ultimate success. It seemed indeed, to be regarded among them, as a moral impossibility, that any human combination could long resist the power and will of the most catholic king. It was at this period industriously reported and credited, that Lima had made another effort, and that another expedition was on its way to aid and relieve them. It was likewise universally believed, that the Patriots had suffered severely in the battle of Maypu, and had purchased their victory with nearly the annihilation of their forces. This was

the more easily credited, as it seemed to be almost the only means of accounting for the extreme tardiness of the Patriots in their approach. Nine months had now elapsed since the defeat of Osorio's army, of which, only two or three hundred stragglers had ever returned : had the Patriots followed up their success with spirit and expedition, and marched into the province, they might, with an handful of men, have taken unresisted possession of Talcahuano, have preserved the fortifications of that strong hold, entire, and very possibly have prevented the escape of a number of ships, richly laden, then in the port. From the instant and hurried preparations that were made for Osorio's departure, it was very evident that *he* believed that such might be the result of his defeat. It was, however, soon ascertained, that the Patriots had made no movement of pursuit ; on the contrary, Osorio was permitted, at his leisure, to collect the remains of the royal force in the province, to send despatches to Lima, and receive answers to them ; then to demolish the fortifications of Talcahuano, and

embark the greatest part of the artillery they contained; and at last, to embark himself, taking with him a part of the population of the province, with all the wealth they could transport. It was *then*, that the present commander in chief, Don Francisco Sanchez, was left in the military command of the province, with but little more than a body guard for his army; and with no well founded hope of doing more, than of effecting his escape, with the Royalists, that might be disposed to follow him to Valdivia. Had the Patriots advanced at *this time*, no resistance could have been offered them; instead of which, they allowed time to Sanchez, to organize the militia of the province, to unite the regular troops that remained after Osorio's departure, with those that afterwards arrived in the convoy; to treat with the Indians, and prepare them for action; and at last, to retreat to the frontiers, with a force sufficient to impede the advance of the Patriots, if not ultimately to prevent their entire occupation of the province. The effects of the panic that succeeded the battle of Maypu, were

completely done away ; the inveterate prejudices of the people in this part of the country, were strengthened and confirmed ; the numerous tribes of Indians, upon the whole frontier, were brought over to the interest and service of the king : these were the effects of what still appears to me, the unnecessary, and unpardonable delay of the Patriots, in their preparations to take possession of the province.

It was now the middle of January, and Sanchez had remained more than two months, unmolested, in Los Angeles. It could no longer be concealed, that the Patriots were near at hand. A party of them had already entered Chillan, a town about 30 leagues distant, but after keeping possession of it for nearly two days, were driven back by a party of royalists that were in the neighbourhood at the time. This partial success gave new hopes to the people of Los Angeles, who seemed resolved to maintain their ground, and confident in their means of resistance.

The government now granted me a passport for *San Pedro*, a military post on the

river Biobio, and directly opposite to the city of Concepcion; there to remain till I had an opportunity to embark for the United States; and I prepared at once to take leave of my friends and acquaintance in Los Angeles. Among these, was Don Juan Ruiz, the richest and most respectable merchant in the place, and in whose house I passed some very pleasant hours. His sons were clever, and rather gentlemanly men, and his only daughter extremely pretty, and played *well*, both on the guitar and piano. Don Juan himself, however, had nothing personal to recommend him; I do not remember to have met with a figure and face more ungraceful and forbidding. (He seemed to me the personification of avarice and meanness); but afforded a convincing proof of the fallacy of a judgment formed upon outward appearance. He happened, at this time, to be on the point of starting for Concepcion, in order to bring away a sister, who still remained near that place; and as soon as he found my intention of going there, he invited me to accompany him, with the offer of a servant,

mules and horses, with every thing that might be required for the journey.

We started from Los Angeles on the morning of the 20th January ; and at noon, arrived at an estancia, belonging to Don Juan, where we dined and changed horses. This estancia was similar to others, near to Los Angeles, which I had passed in another direction, on my journey thither : the buildings large and commodious ; the wheat field, rich and extensive, and the vineyard flourishing and corresponding with the other parts of the establishment.

Not knowing what might be the state of affairs near the city, on the *northern* side of the Biobio, we determined to cross that river as soon as practicable, and arrived at a ferrying place, early in the afternoon. We here found a good launch, manned by some of the sailors, who had escaped from the *Maria Isabella*. The river, at this place, (about seven leagues from Los Angeles) is somewhat more than a mile in width, the current rapid ; and the water clear and deep.

The horses and mules, in passing the ri-

ver, are never taken into the boats ; but drawn after them by their halters, which occasions much trouble, and not a little danger. The tract of country we passed, in approaching the river, consisted, almost altogether, of flat, rich, well watered pasture grounds.

After passing to the southern side of the river, the difference in the soil, and face of the country, was immediately perceptible. The hills, which were now approaching to *mountains*, were arid, and comparatively barren ; and for several leagues, we met with no growth of large trees. We had calculated upon arriving at *Santa Juanna*, this night ; but having been delayed in crossing the river, we were obliged to pass the night, in a hut upon the mountains, with our panchos and the furniture of the horses for our beds. Early the next day, we arrived at *Santa Juanna*, a military post on the Biobio, of some importance, and formerly of considerable strength. The fortress and all public buildings had been destroyed by the Patriots on their last retreat. It contains about 150 houses ; and was now crowded with population ;

some on their way to Angelos, and others who thought themselves sufficiently retired from danger, in fixing themselves here. After resting about two hours in this place, we passed along the borders of the river, about four leagues, to the estancia of a friend of my companion, where we spent the afternoon and night. We here found an amiable and pleasant family, and were most hospitably entertained.

This was the only considerable estancia that we passed, on the southern side of the Biobio, situated upon a plain, formed by the hills retiring from the river ; the neighbouring scenery more bold and grand ; in other respects resembling the other estancias near Los Angelos.

In the morning, we were on horseback at daylight, on our way to San Pedro. For about 10 leagues, the road was extremely rough, and the hills high, steep and barren. We passed but one village, containing about 30 thatched houses, until we came upon the plain that leads to San Pedro, where we arrived safely, before dark. About 5 leagues from San Pedro, we passed the

road leading to *Arauco*, leaving that place about six leagues south of us; as far as this, some fishermen had accompanied us, for most of the day, who had been from *Arauco* to *Los Angeles* to dispose of their fish. They informed us that this place likewise, was filled with emigrants, some with the hope of embarking from thence to *Lima*, and others awaiting the expected expedition. It is a place of some strength, and has now a garrison, consisting of a company of royal troops, and a considerable body of Indians. It was taken the last year, by the Indians, from the patriots, by assault. According to the accounts we had of the affair, in *Talcahuano*, at the time, only one of the garrison, an officer, escaped. It was, then, of importance to the Patriots, having a communication with the sea.

San Pedro is but a mean village containing one church, and about 40 houses. There are the remains of an old fortress, and an arsenal, which last has been recently fitted up and supplied. There were now here not less than two thousand residents, exclusive of a garrison of about 100 troops,

fit for duty, and 50 or 60 convalescents in the hospital, of those that arrived in the convoy. A new village now, however, had suddenly risen up. In the course of 3 or 4 weeks, as many new *streets* had been formed, and the houses filled with inhabitants. The houses were constructed by fixing in the ground rough sticks of timber for side and corner posts, with crotches at top to support cross poles, and binding to these at the distance of 8 or 10 inches from each other, a number of long cane poles, all well secured by leathern ropes. The open spaces were then filled up, with a sort of flag or rush, of which there are vast quantities near at hand. A spacious, and for this country, very comfortable house, can be finished in this manner, in the course of a day, at the expense of 8 or 10 dollars. In one of these houses, my companion Don Juan, found a number of his most intimate friends. They were five ladies, with their children, all branches of one of the most respectable families of the province, (the *Carabajales*.) During all the late troubles and changes, they had all lived together,

and remained in the city; but were now obliged to leave it in obedience to the general orders of the commander in chief. With regard to the husbands of four of them who were married, one was in Lima, one in the service of the Royalists, and two in the service of the Patriots. Excepting the nuns, scarcely so many other respectable persons had been permitted to remain in the city, on the last retreat of the Patriots. At the head of this family, was a widow, fine looking, though aged, and sister of a nobleman of the king's household in Madrid. In this unpleasant and perplexing state of affairs, she had under her charge, domestics included, more than thirty persons; and no male among them, older than a boy of sixteen, a completely spoiled child, whom it was more trouble to manage, than all the rest together. But she was a sensible, decided, courageous, amiable and prudent woman: she had found, and was still to find, sufficient exercise for all these good qualities. After supping with this family, (to whom Don Juan introduced me in terms that gained me a cordial reception) we re-

tired to pass the night under the trees behind the house, there being not an inch of room unoccupied, within it.

The next morning Don Juan took me with him, to introduce me to the governor of the place, whom he knew intimately, and on leaving him, requested his interest in my favour, should I ever need it. We now returned to dine with the ladies, (some of whose funds, as far as I could gather, were in the hands of Don Juan) after which he began to prepare for his return to Los Angeles. Before I left Los Angeles I was enabled to make a moderate provision for the expenses of the journey, well knowing that with the people of Chili, generally speaking, all favours are *purchased*. Without any hope of compensating him for the kindness he had shewn me, I now called Don Juan aside, in order to adjust the expenses of the journey, as he had insisted upon being *treasurer* on the road. He not only refused to receive money and several little presents I offered him, (as delicately as I could) but would hardly listen for an instant to *thanks*, and in answer only required of me, that if

I should meet with any difficulty in San Pedro, or feel any disposition to return to Los Angeles, I should only inform him of it, and he would immediately dispatch a servant, horses, and whatever I might need to take me there. The same request he afterwards repeated in a letter which he wrote me from Los Angeles. Thus the figure and expression of face, my prepossession against which I could not to the last overcome, proved to have concealed under them the most friendly heart that I have yet met with in this land of strangers.

After the departure of Don Juan, my first object was to seek for some cover under which to lodge for the night. After much difficulty I obtained a corner of an apartment in a mud house; my bedstead consisted of a long bread-trough, placed upon one of my trunks, and my bed and coverings of sheep skins and my great coat. These were my accommodations for the night, during nearly three weeks that I remained in San Pedro; and during this time, I may safely affirm that I had never one hour of sound sleep in the twenty-four; the other hours

of the night were passed with one hand employed in chasing the fleas from my legs, and the other, the rats from my head. These creatures swarm in such abundance, both here and in Concepcion, as to induce me to believe that the description of the vermin in Grand Cairo, by Dr. Clark, which struck me at first was marvellous, is correct. Fortunately the *river*, as it passed the door, was clear and deep, and afforded every facility for bathing, which was universally practised, and the luxury of which was augmented by the dirt and filth of the houses and beds.

The Biobio at this place, is about a league in width, and the water at this season of the year, in most parts of it shallow, so that it may be forded on horseback, now and then swimming your horse for a short distance. From a high hill, under which San Pedro is situated, you have a very fine view of the river and city ; can count the churches and almost trace all the streets. Taking (as you easily may with the help of a little imagination) every thing white, to be *marble*, and every thing great to be

grand, the picture it presents is a very beautiful one ; *now*, a most sad and distressing one, to hundreds below, who seem to be lingering there, as it were, to gaze on their homes, uncertain whether they should ever be permitted to revisit them. The seeds of the revolution are said to have been sown in Concepcion, and she may truly be said to have borne the brunt of the war. Five times during this fierce and obstinate contest, as one or the other party were expected to prevail in the province, this ill fated city has been abandoned and emptied of all the inhabitants, wealth and moveables it contained. When I arrived in San Pedro, the communication with the city was not impeded, and boats occasionally passed for the purpose of gathering fruit from the gardens, or bringing over some article of furniture that had been left behind ; otherwise it was left in the undisturbed possession of a small vidette guard that was still stationed there, always in readiness to depart, and a number of the destitute and profligate who remained behind only to gather the gleanings of misfortune.

The people in San Pedro, though not encouraged by the presence of the commander in chief, and the army, were as confident in their hopes of succour, and as zealous in their loyalty, as those in Los Angeles. Their garrison of regular troops, were shortly ordered to join the army, except one officer and about thirty men; and their defence was intrusted to the militia of the neighbourhood, and a few Indians from Arauco. The Indians on the coast near this place, have gradually assumed the language, customs and dress of the yeomanry of the province. They are all cavalry, as well here, as on the frontiers, and their arms consist of a large knife, worn as a dagger, and a lance, about ten feet in length.

For nearly a fortnight, no event of importance occurred to change the state of affairs here. Every day brought with it some new report and alarm, which the next day contradicted. The fears of the inhabitants, however, seemed rather to *subside* than increase. Several of the clergy remained behind, and mass was regularly attended: a number of shops were opened;

and the market regularly and abundantly supplied, with every article of consumption. Many that went with Sanchez, had now returned here, to be nearer their homes.

They were inveterate against the English and Americans, and I should have fared but ill among them, but for the friends to whom Don Juan introduced me. I passed almost all my time with them, and was treated with a degree of kindness and hospitality, that I can never forget. *My plate* was always placed next to that of the *Senora*, and if I ever failed to appear at noon or night, I was always searched for. One of the chief objects with her, seemed to be, to banish all sorrow ; and to allow her family no time to reflect upon their present situation and misfortunes. The house was furnished with a piano and guitars upon which several of the family played ; and they had now taken into their service, two Spanish sailors, of the *Maria Isabella* ; one of them a most excellent singer, the other a lively and facetious sort of buffoon ; in these, their several capacities, one or the other of them, were kept engaged almost every hour of

the day. In addition to this, a *puppet-show* was got up in a neighbouring house, for the younger part of the family, and lastly, at home, they had three or four beautiful, well educated *parrots*; so that, all circumstances considered, our diversions were neither few nor contemptible.

We were not long, however, allowed to think much of amusements. In the course of two or three days, after we were perfectly *settled*, the ferry boat which had passed over in the morning to the city, returned with precipitation, leaving part of her passengers, prisoners, behind. She was fired into in pushing off, and narrowly escaped.

It was now evident that the Patriots had possession of the city; with what force, we could only conjecture; though a considerable body of cavalry, apparently more than one *company*, were distinctly seen, with a glass, upon the opposite banks. The militia were now all put on duty, and patrols were organized for four or five miles, up and down the river.

We remained without any interesting occurrence, until the third night from this;

when a launch, filled with soldiers, approached, though a moonlight night, within musket shot of the shore, without being perceived. The alarm gun was then fired; and several rounds were exchanged; after which the launch sheered off, and pulled leisurely for the city. They had a French horn, and other instruments of musick on board, and after short intervals, struck up some martial, patriotic air. As the night was serene and beautiful, the banks of the river were immediately lined with people of both sexes; listening to the retreating music of a portion of their deadly foes, who might, very possibly, in a few hours, become their masters. The effect of music, on the water, at all times sufficiently impressive, was heightened by such a concourse, under such circumstances, and produced a most singular mixture of emotions.

The next morning, a considerable number of families, apprehensive of a sudden assault, prepared to quit San Pedro; and set off, most of them on foot, following the carts and mules, loaded with their furniture and baggage, some bound to Arauco, some

to Santa Juanna ; and very many, scarcely knowing where to bend their steps, or where they might meet with security and rest.

Three nights after this, another alarm was sounded, and another launch was seen approaching the shore ; with the intention (as I afterwards learned in Concepcion) of ascertaining where would be the fittest place to land, and what preparation had been made to resist an attack. She too was fired into, and two were killed, and almost all on board of her were wounded ; one of the latter, an officer whom I afterwards saw in the city, received two balls, which remained in him for some weeks ; and he probably would have died, but for the skill and attention of the surgeon of an English whaleman, that happened to be then in the port.

Orders were now issued by the commanding officer, that all the unarmed residents in San Pedro, should forthwith, and without distinction, leave the place ; as he had received information that a general attack would shortly be made. This produced a scene of bustle and confusion, little

less,*than would have been the effect of the threatened attack itself.

They had been so long perplexed with false alarms, that they had ceased to provide against real danger.

Many of those who had furniture and valuable property, were unprovided with the means of conveying it away ; and, on the whole, *their* fate seemed now the happiest, who had nothing more to do, than to take up their beds and walk.

It was believed, by the people at large, that the war had now become a war of extermination, and that the Patriots advanced, resolved to allow no quarter, even to poverty and misery. Most of the lower classes of *Talcahuano*, (which had so often proved the stumbling-block of the Patriots) were collected here, and they believed that, least of all, had *they* any reason to hope for pardon and reconciliation.

These were now seen sallying from the place, in troops, mostly of women and children, with uncertain destination, and with scarce a day's provision for their support. The situation of many of the women, who

were entirely destitute of aid, was extremely distressing. In some instances, they were seen hastening away, with one or *two* little children fastened about their shoulders, and their arms filled with cooking utensils.

The family I was with, however, felt none of these apprehensions. They had, more than once, passed through scenes, similar to that which was now anticipated, and without molestation; and they had resolved to remain where they were, whatever might happen. As, however, there was now, no alternative to a removal, they began at once to make their arrangements, in which they insisted that I should be included.

Having sent to the farm of a friend, not far distant, for mules and horses; the next object was to decide what direction to take, and to what place they should retreat. After much debate, it was decided not to leave the vicinity, but to cross the hill, and pass up the river about four miles, to a farm, where several of their friends had some time before retired. All were

now busily employed in preparing the loads for the mules ; this, however, was soon accomplished, as but little of their baggage had been unpacked in San Pedro.

Most of the loads were on the way, early in the afternoon ; the ladies, some on foot, and some on horseback, following, escorted by the mule drivers. I was left to see to the loading of the mules, when they should return, with what remained behind. I started from San Pedro towards evening, leaving the village almost entirely deserted. Of the crowds that were gathered there, the week before, not twenty persons, (besides the soldiers) were to be seen. After no very pleasant walk, we arrived about nine o'clock at the spot, where our party were *encamped*. I found them seated upon their mattresses and carpets, under a large tree, and partly encircled by rugs and blankets, suspended from the branches, and fastened to long poles. Some were playing with the children, and some sipping their maté, and instead of finding them half dead with fatigue and vexation, as I had expected, they were conversing

with as much life and animation, as if they had been in their parlours at home. A few rods from them, there was a blazing fire, under another tree, where the cooks were engaged in preparing the supper. The novelty of the scene gave an interest to the evening, and it passed off as pleasantly as any we had spent together, amidst all the *diversions* of San Pedro. After supper, we began to feel somewhat of fatigue, from the labours of the day; and bidding each other *very formal* adieus for the night, we retired to our separate *apartments*, formed by different rows of trunks and boxes, and soon forgot that there were either patriots or royalists in the world.

We rose at light to prepare for business. The first object was to build a *house*. For this purpose, a number of neighbouring labourers were sent for, and the contract soon finished; by which they, for the sum of eight dollars, were to erect, with all possible speed, a large, commodious, rain proof house.

While the materials for this were collecting, I had an opportunity to take a view

of our new abode. We were upon a pleasant plain, not a hundred rods in width, verdant and covered with fruit trees, and bordered by the river, and a mountain. A novelist would have called it a truly romantic spot. There was but one house in sight, and that resembled a *cottage*, only in size. In this, were the friends of our party, who had come out a few days before. They consisted of the sister, nieces, and other female relations of the *Provisor* or Dean of the Cathedral of Concepcion, who, immediately after the first alarm, left San Pedro for Arauco. They were amiable and interesting women.

Before noon, this day, there was every appearance of an approaching storm, and we thought ourselves fortunate in having been able to make so early preparations for a shelter. The work was hurried on, and an end, a side, and part of the roof of the house, was partially finished before dark. We, in the mean time, were employed in removing the trunks and furniture to our new habitation, which, however, we did not effect, till long after the

rain storm had commenced. In the evening, it increased to violence ; and the prospect of the night we were to pass, afforded a trial of temper, that many women, who had been used to luxury all their lives, would not so easily have borne. We were but little bettered by our removal from the tree. By the help of carpets and skins, we were pretty well sheltered from the wind ; but our roof proved no better than a sieve. By supper time, there was not a dry spot in the house, upon which to place the table. The ladies, however, added no sighs to the wind, nor tears to the rain. We supped as usual, and passed the night with no other care, than to keep ourselves as dry and warm as possible.

At this season of the year, the storms, though sometimes violent, are never of long continuance ; and we rose in the morning, with a brilliant sun. It seemed now, as if all our cares were over. The house was soon finished, and we found ourselves as comfortably, and much more pleasantly situated, than in San Pedro. The two families united, formed a social circle, suffi-

ciently large, and probably as pleasant, as could have been selected in the province. The scenery in the neighbourhood was varied and beautiful, and we spent most of the day in rambling about. At night, we were always visited by the patrols, who came regularly to take some refreshment, and give us the news of the day.

We were now enjoying a greater degree of tranquillity, than fairly fell to our share; and our only wish was, that we might remain as we were, until public affairs should be settled.

In this manner, we had passed *five* very pleasant days, when we received a Bando, or proclamation, from the commanding officer in San Pedro, ordering *all* on this side the river, to retire immediately to *Arauco*, under pain of being considered and treated as enemies to the king; and information at the same time, that a *guirilla* remained behind, only to see that this order was carried into effect. This news was unexpected, and most unwelcome. To retire with such a family to a post so distant, without protectors, or the means of conveyance, seem-

ed impossible. To remain behind, they would be obliged to conceal themselves, and might, moreover, incur the displeasure of the *king*, which, next to God's, they had, most of them, been taught to dread.

I now looked forward with real sorrow, to a separation from this interesting family. Having resolved never, voluntarily, to accompany a retreating guirilla, with the prospect of enduring another siege, I made my arrangements accordingly. A young merchant of Concepcion, with his wife, had followed us to the spot where we were, and was living in a little shed, by the side of the wall of the farm house. He, too, was little inclined to a journey to Arauco. He was a decided royalist; and calculated that matters were now drawing to a close; that an engagement would soon take place, and Sanchez be on his return, victorious, to Concepcion. We immediately engaged to join in preparations for concealing ourselves in the woods. With the assistance of an old labourer, we soon found a spot on the side of the mountain, about a mile from the

house, where we thought there would be little chance of being discovered, even if we should be searched for. By working hard all the evening, we got our trunks and baggage safely deposited in this place, and here we spent the night. My friend and I returned in the morning to ascertain the state of things, and render what assistance we could to the family; leaving his lady the sole possession of the hill. We found the party extremely sad and dejected; fearful to remain, and without the means to remove. The morning was passed in a state of most anxious suspense. Before noon, two soldiers rode towards the house, and brought us information that the Guirilla of the royalists had retired from San Pedro; that a party of the Patriots had come over, and that *they* were ordered by *Don Manuel Gonsalez*, to search for this family, and invite them all, to return to their homes in Concepcion. The soldiers who brought this information, were recognized at once, as Royalists. One of them I had known some months before. They had deserted and joined the Patriots, only two

days before ; and Gonsalez, who was commissary general of the army of Concepcion, (and who was brother to one of the ladies of our party,) had sent them upon this mission.

Another difficulty now arose, from the suspicion that these men might be of the guirilla that was lingering near, and might have been sent for the purpose of sounding the intentions of our party, and perhaps, seriously to compromit them. They were answered with caution, and given to understand that as they confessed they had just changed sides, not much confidence could be placed in their representations. The soldiers only requested time to bring proof of their assertions, and left us. They returned in the evening, with a letter from Don Manuel, entreating that none of the party would think of removing farther distant, but immediately return to Concepcion ; where they would be gladly received, and every facility and protection afforded them. He sent at the same time a printed copy of a proclamation of the Supreme Director inviting all classes of the people to re-

turn to their homes, and insuring safety and protection to their persons; and the free enjoyment of their estates and property. It would seem that there could now, be no question with regard to the course it was best to pursue; yet the decision was adopted with extreme hesitation, by the Senora, and several others of the family, who absolutely shuddered at the idea of receiving even safety and protection from the hands of the enemies of their king. At last, however, we commenced preparations for removal. I went immediately to the mountain, to remove my baggage, and inform my friend, who had returned there, of what had passed, and to invite him and his wife to accompany us, to the city. But to this they would not harken for a moment, but seemed resolved to await the issue of affairs; and confident that Sanchez would soon return victorious to Concepcion.

The soldiers had been ordered, by Don Manuel, in case the party concluded to pass the river, to proceed immediately to San Pedro, for the purpose of obtaining a launch, and to return to the place where we were,

that we might embark from thence. Early the next morning, the launch arrived within a few roods of the house, with a guard of soldiers, pilots, &c. By the help of the soldiers, in a short time, our baggage was on board, and the parties from both houses, embarked, about nine o'clock, for Concepcion.

I looked forward to the events of the day, with no little interest. For eighteen months past, I had associated with Royalists of all grades and distinctions, in different directions and in various situations; but except through the grates of a prison, or upon some distant height, I had never yet seen a professed *Patriot*.

We passed down the river swiftly, close to the banks, until we came opposite to San Pedro, when we changed our course, directly for the city. When somewhat more than half way across the river, we were met by a small boat, in which were four or five officers. They approached us, and immediately jumped on board the launch, saluted the ladies with great cordiality, and felicitated themselves upon the honour of

escorting them to the city. They were tall, graceful fine looking men, and in full and rich uniform. On reaching the landing place, about a mile from the city, we found a considerable concourse of officers, soldiers and others. Don Manuel was there ready to receive us, with 8 or 10 soldiers, who had brought horses, for the ladies to ride to the city. Mules were likewise in readiness for the baggage ; and we now all proceeded to the house of Don Manuel, which we reached about eleven o'clock. We were here treated with wine, fruits, &c. ; and after a very pleasant half hour, I left the party, to see and inquire what was passing in the city.—Among the first persons I recognized, on entering the square, were my two young friends, with whom I had lived so long, and suffered so much, the last year. They had come that morning from Penco, in search for some female relations, who had passed over with the Royalists. They were exceedingly astonished at seeing me. They were not only ignorant that I was in Concepcion, but had no idea that I was alive. It was be-

lieved in Penco, that I had been murdered, and left in the woods, the night we left there. This probably arose from the death of a young Patriot, who had been killed in the neighbourhood a few days before, by the same Guirilla, while offering some resistance, and refusing to repeat *viva el Rey*. The story had been transferred to me with additional circumstances, and had been reported to the government : and my death had been added to the list of the atrocities of the royal army. After mutual felicitations we went together to the palace, to call on the Intendente Gobernador, or governor general, who is an acquaintance of the eldest of my friends. We were very cordially received, and entertained for half an hour, with much politeness, and dismissed with a proffer of services, &c. The Intendente, Freyre, though a young man, has been one of the most conspicuous characters of the revolution. He was a friend and *protégé* of Don Juan Rosa, a merchant of Concepcion, of great wealth, influence and talents, under whose auspices, the revolution, in the province, was first conduct-

ed. Freyre has several times crossed the Andes, and has been engaged in active service from the first. He has the reputation of being a brave and able officer, and is moreover a gentlemanly and very handsome man.

After a pleasant day in Concepcion, we returned in the evening, to *Penco*. If the *men* of the family were *surprised* to see me, the women were, at first sight, absolutely frightened. They had my bed, and the baggage I had left behind, neatly packed up, and ready to send by the first opportunity to the consul at Valparaiso, with an account of my disappearance.

They soon however, gave me a cordial welcome, and we sat down to supper, with plenty of food, as well for conversation as refreshment. They too, had suffered severely, after I left them. The house had been visited by several Guirillas, in search of the young men, and had been stripped of almost every thing it contained. The young men had never ventured from the mountains, and the women soon retired to a small hut, distant from the road, where

they had remained till a fortnight before I arrived. I found them in good health, and happy in the prospect of ease and security.

March 1, 1819.

We are within an hour's ride of Concepcion, where I have been several times, since my return. The Patriot emigrants are returning in very considerable numbers, and the city is beginning to reassume the appearance of life and activity. I have seen a number of officers there, some of whom have just arrived from the late scene of action, near Los Angeles; and have learnt the fate of Sanchez, with his army and Indians.

Sometime before I left San Pedro, I received an order from the *fiscal* of the royal army, to repair immediately to Los Angeles, to give testimony in a court martial, then holden upon some of the officers of the regiment, to which the *guirilla* that had made prisoner of me, belonged; but by writing to the governor, (Cabanés) I obtained permission to give my evidence in San Pedro; and by so doing, escaped not a little of confusion and difficulty. Early in

January, the Patriot army, amounting to about three thousand men, left Santiago; entered the province without opposition, and marched directly upon Chillian, about twenty leagues from Los Angeles, where they expected to meet Sanchez, with his forces, and decide the contest. Sanchez *had* advanced thus far, but had retired again to Los Angeles, leaving about four hundred soldiers, and a body of Indians, in that place. After some skirmishing with the advance of the Patriots, these too retreated towards Los Angeles. The Patriots immediately pursued, and arrived near Los Angeles, before Sanchez, (who, it would seem, had now despaired of successful resistance,) had completed his dispositions to retreat across the river Biobio. The Patriots came upon them in the act of crossing it; and a very considerable carnage ensued. Some hundreds of the soldiers, and many of the citizens of Los Angeles, were drowned in attempting to cross.

In the night, while Sanchez was encamped upon the opposite bank, a party of the Patriots was ordered to pass the river below, ascend to his encampment, and attack

him by surprise. Sanchez, however, was apprized of their movements in time to quit his encampment, and retreat hastily towards the Indian territories, with the loss, however, of part of his baggage and military stores. The Patriots now took possession of Los Angeles, where they found vast quantities of wheat, wine, brandy and tobacco, as well as numerous flocks and herds in the neighbouring pastures. The Indians in the mean time fled in all directions, and defied pursuit. Thus ended all open opposition to the Patriot cause, in Concepcion.

Freyre, the Governor and commander in chief, left Santiago with the army and accompanied it as far as Talca and the river Maule, (half way to Concepcion). He then took another road, and with about two hundred dragoons, proceeded directly to the Capitol, of which he took possession without opposition. These were the troops whom we first saw from San Pedro.

The main army is already on its march to Santiago, having left a garrison in Los Angeles, and sent a reinforcement of six

or seven hundred infantry to Freyre in Concepcion.

This force is estimated to be sufficient to maintain tranquillity in the province.

The military posts on the other side of the river are still in the hands of the Royalists, and bodies of Indians have within a few days made their appearance directly in front of Concepcion, and I do not believe that should any occasion favourable to insurrection offer itself, this force would be sufficient to quell it. The Patriot families in Concepcion itself appear by no means confident in their security, and those belonging to Talcahuano have not yet dared to remove thither.

I have conversed too, with a number of the officers who were present at the *dispersion* at Cancharyada, and afterwards at the famous battle of Maypu, upon which hung the fate of Chili. Their accounts of these affairs differ but little in the main, from those I had before received from the Royalists. The Patriot army was encamped at Cancharyada, about three leagues from Talca, and the river Maule. It consisted

(including two or three thousand militia) of at least thirteen thousand men, well appointed and disciplined, the cavalry well mounted, and the infantry well equipped; the whole commanded by *San Martin*, who had already proved himself valiant and fortunate, and encouraged by the presence of the Supreme Director in person. The Royal army under Osorio and Ordoner had been augmented in its march by volunteers and soldiers who had remained in concealment in the province, since the former defeat of the Royalists, and consisted on its arrival at Maule, of upwards of six thousand men. On the morning of the 19th of March, they crossed the river without opposition, and the Patriots now calculated that they had them completely in their power. Early in the afternoon of the same day, some skirmishing took place between the advance of the two armies, in which the Royalists were worsted and retreated. San Martin had resolved to make a general attack early the next morning. In the mean time, he ordered a plentiful supper and refreshments to be served out to the

troops, and the horses to be well fed and prepared for action on the morrow. While the army was thus engaged, their arms stacked, and their horses unsaddled, the cavalry of the enemy rushed suddenly upon them, followed by the rest of the army. The surprise was so complete, that not a measure or movement of resistance was thought of. The whole army was almost instantly dispersed, and fled in all directions, without the least degree of order, discipline or union. Some fifty or sixty were killed in preparing for their flight, and a considerable number wounded, among whom was the Supreme Director himself. All their artillery, ammunition, and baggage, a number of horses, and two thousand stand of arms, fell unresistedly into the hands of the Royalists. On the fourth day from this, San Martin arrived in Santiago; and the day after, the Supreme Director, by a different road; both without troops, and almost without attendants. In the city, all was confusion and uproar; no one was prepared for a result so entirely unexpected. The foreigners that were there, were hur-

rying with their property to the port, in order to embark ; a great part of the population was preparing to cross the Andes, and consternation and despair reigned in every quarter.

It was now, that San Martin displayed a decision and energy of character, that proved him worthy of the post he held ; he assembled the chief citizens, harangued the people, drew out the militia, and encouraged the soldiers ; and in fine, succeeded in calming the apprehensions that existed, and in inspiring confidence and hope. In the mean time, the troops, except some five or six hundred, who crossed the Cordelleras, took different routes towards the city, and were now arriving hourly by hundreds. An encampment was immediately formed without the city : those who had lost their arms or horses, were supplied afresh ; the army was organized anew ; and in eight days from his arrival in the city, San Martin found himself at the head of ten thousand troops, resolved to wipe off the stain that rested upon their arms, or to die in the attempt.

In the mean time, Osorio, encumbered with his artillery, and impeded by frequent rivers and streams, over which there are no bridges, made but slow progress in his advance towards the capital. His army was still further augmented by volunteers, whom his recent success induced to flock to him, and whom he supplied with the arms he had captured from the Patriots. He arrived within six leagues of the city, in sixteen days, a distance of seventy five leagues. His army, amounting now, to about eight thousand men, crossed the river Maypu, in the night of the 4th of April, and continuing their march, encamped early on the morning of the 5th upon one of the hills which border the plain, upon which Santiago is situated, and about three leagues distant from it. He, here planted his artillery, and drew up his forces to await an attack. During these movements, Freyre, who commanded a corps of observation, had constantly harassed him; and avoiding an engagement, had passed the whole night and morning in skirmishes.

In the mean time, the main army of the

Patriots had passed the night in rest; and early in the morning, were abundantly supplied with every thing needful, to refresh them. Before seven o'clock, they were on their march to meet the royal army, and to decide at a single blow, the contest between liberty and independence, and slavery and despotism. At nine o'clock, the armies were fronting each other, within musket shot, the Patriots not having suffered much from the artillery that was playing upon them. The action commenced between the regiment of *Burgos*, consisting of Spanish veterans, and who covered the artillery, and the eighth regiment of Patriots, consisting wholly of *blacks*, who, after a warm contest, gave way and fled. The Spaniards pursued them warmly; a division of the Patriots was now ordered to charge the artillery, of all which they shortly got possession. A brisk fire had now commenced, and was continued for about an hour throughout the whole line, after which, the armies closed, and the battle was decided at the point of the bayonet, and at sword's length. At eleven o'clock, Ordoner sur-

rendered, with about 350 men, which were all that remained of the regiment that fought so bravely under him, in Talcahuano. Mogado, who commanded the cavalry, surrendered nearly at the same time ; and about the same time too, Osorio is supposed to have fled. The slaughter upon the field of battle continued till one o'clock. The pursuit and slaughter of fugitives continued through the day. Of the royal army, three thousand, including wounded, were taken prisoners, and one thousand are supposed to have escaped ; the rest were left dead upon the field of battle. The Patriot loss is estimated at three thousand, killed and wounded.

I do not remember any engagement, in the course of our own revolution, that was so evidently decisive of the fate of an empire, as was this ; the time, place, and circumstances under which it took place, all conspired to give to it an uncommon degree of interest. Almost the whole male population of Santiago are said to have sallied forth from the city, and were witnesses of this desperate contest. When Osorio re-

turned to Talcahuano, I recollect to have heard one of his officers say, that when the General viewed with his glass, the immense numbers that followed the Patriot army, and almost covered the plain, supposing they might be militia, or corps of reserve, he exclaimed, "we are lost, inevitably." The prisoners who had surrendered, were marched into town in the afternoon of the same day; those who were taken in their attempt to escape, were constantly arriving for several weeks afterwards. The victory was celebrated in Santiago, with triumphal pomp; and the month was passed in one continued jubilee.

THE END.

JAN 18 1943

